

OF
WISDOM.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in FRENCH,

BY THE

Sieur de CHARRON.

With an Account of the AUTHOR.

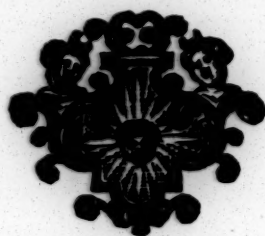
Made ENGLISH

By GEORGE STANHOPE, D. D.

Late Dean of *Canterbury*.

VOL. III.

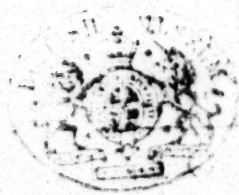
The THIRD EDITION, *Corrected*.



LONDON:

Printed by *T. W.* for J. WALTHOE, R. WILKIN,
J. and J. BONWICKE, S. BIRT, T. WARD
and E. WICKSTEED, and T. OSBORNE.

M DCC XXIX.



T H E

P R E F A C E.

OUR Design in this last Part of the present Treatise, being to give the Reader the most particular Instructions we can possibly, and so to follow and compleat the general Rules of Wisdom, touched upon in the Book foregoing; the most convenient and methodical Way of Proceeding seemed to me, to range all I have to say under the four great moral Virtues; Of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance: Since these are of a Comprehension so large, that it is almost impossible to instance in any Duty of Morality or practical Religion, which is not directly contained, or may very fairly be reduced within the Compass of them. Prudence supplies the Place of a Director and Governor, it instructs us in other Virtues, and is the Guide of our Life, and all the Actions of it; tho' indeed it be more peculiarly concerned in Matters of Dealing, and good Conduct, and its strict, proper Notion is Dexterity in the Management of Business. Now, as this regards Actions, so Justice, which

is the next, is chiefly concerned about Persons; for the Province of Justice is, to render to every Man his Due. Fortitude and Temperance have respect to the Events of human Life; the Prosperous and Adverse, such as move our Passions, and are Matter of Joy or Grief, of Pleasure or Pain to us. Now it is plain, that these three, Persons, and Actions, and Contingencies, extend to all the Parts of human Life; and our Condition and Dealings in the World cannot possibly oblige us to be conversant with, or employ'd about any thing whatsoever, which is not comprehended under one or other of these Considerations.



O F

W I S D O M.

T H E

T H I R D B O O K ;

In which, particular Rules are laid down, and Directions for the several Parts and Offices of Wisdom, branched out under four general Heads, as they have relation, and are reducible, to the Four Cardinal Virtues.

C H A P. I.

Of PRUDENCE in General.

THERE is great Reason, why Prudence CHAP. I.
 should have the first and most honourable Place allotted to it; because it is really *Its Excellence.*
 the Queen of Virtues; the general Superintendent that presides over, and gives Directions to all the rest. Where this is wanting, there can be no such thing as Goodness or Beauty, Propriety or Decency. It is the very Salt of Life, the Lustre and Ornament

BOOK III. Ornament of all our Actions; that which recommends them to the Eye, and gives them that Seasoning and Relish which is necessary; 'tis the Square and Rule, by which all our Affairs ought to be measured and adjusted; and, in one Word, This is the Art of Acting and Living, as the Science of Physick is the Art of Health.

2. *Definition.* Prudence consists in the Knowledge and the Choice of those Things, which it concerns us to desire or to decline: It is a just and true Valuation first, and then a picking and culling out the best: It is the Eye that sees every thing, and conducts our Motions and Steps accordingly. The Parts or Offices of it are three, and these all naturally consequent, and in order after one another. The First is Consulting and Deliberating well; the Second, Judging and Resolving well; the Third, Managing and Executing those Resolutions well.

3. *'Tis Universal.* It is very deservedly esteemed an universal Virtue, because of a Comprehension so general; so vast, that all manner of Actions and Accidents belonging to humane Life are within its Extent and Jurisdiction; and this, not only considering them in the gross, but each of them singly and in particular; so that this is as infinite, as all those Individuals put together.

4. *Difficult.* You cannot wonder, if the next Property I assign to it be that of Difficult; the infinite Compass I have already mentioned must needs make it so: For Particulars, as they cannot be positively numbered, so they cannot be fully understood. It is a standing Rule, **That whatever is infinite, exceeds the Bounds of Wisdom.* But that which adds yet

* Si quæ finiri non possunt, extra sapientiam sunt.

Of WISDOM.

999

CHAP. I.

more to the Hardship, is the great Uncertainty and Inconstancy of human Affairs; which is still render'd more intricate and unaccountable, by the inexpressible Variety of Accidents, Circumstances, Appurtenances, Dependencies and Consequences; the Difference of Times, and Places, and Persons: And each of these is of so considerable Importance, that the Change of one single Circumstance, even such as may seem least and of no account, produces a very great Alteration, and sets quite another Face upon the whole Matter. This Difficulty is likewise greater and more evident, upon the account of the Office, in which this Virtue is employ'd; which consists in mustering together Contraries, and then tempering them in just Proportions with one another, so as to qualify the whole at last, in the best manner the Case will admit. Another part of this Office, is distinguishing aright between Things that are like, and making a wise Choice by discerning Real from Seeming Good, and preferring a Greater to a Less of the same Kind. Now all these Things are puzzling, and full of Confusion; for Contrariety and Resemblance both agree in this, that either of them is a great Impediment, and creates Doubt and Irresolution.

And, as the executive Part of Prudence is exceeding difficult, so the discerning Part is subject to great Obscurity; by reason the first Causes and Springs of Things, from whence they arise, and by which they are moved and carried on, are secret and unknown; and, like the Seeds and Roots of Plants, lie deep in the Ground, and far out of sight; so deep, that human Nature cannot dive to

BOOK III. the Bottom of them; and some of them so mysterious too, that it is as criminal to enquire into them, as it is impossible to satisfy ourselves by such Enquiry. * *Providence hath thought fit to conceal the Seeds of these Things; and it often happens, that the Causes of good and bad Effects lie hid, and disguise themselves under very different Appearances:* And besides all this, there is that strange Turn of Chance, that unaccountable Fatality (call it what you please) that supreme, secret, unknown Power, which always maintains its Authority, and gives the finishing Stroke, in despite of all the properest Methods, and wisest Precautions we can use. From hence it comes to pass, that the best-laid Designs, and most regular Proceedings, are very frequently most unfortunate in the Event. The very same Course taken by one Man, succeeds according to his Heart's Desire; and with another, crosses all his Expectations; and yet the Case, to all human Appearance, is the same in both, and no Reason can be given for such contrary Issues. Nay, the same Man found those very Methods successful yesterday, which, when he tries again to day, baffle all his Designs and Dependencies; and he who was a Winner but just now, plays the same Game over twice, and the second Time loses all. This Lottery of Fortune gave just Occasion for that received Rule, That no Man's Counsel, or Capacity, can be rightly measured by his Success. And He was certainly in the right, who told some of his Friends, that stood amazed at his ill Fortune, when they observed a more

* *Occultat eorum semina Deus, & plerumque bonorum malorumque causa sub diversa specie latent.*

than

than common Wisdom in all his Discourse and Behaviour: "Look you, Gentlemen, this does
"not mortify me at all; I am Master of my Methods, and capable of judging what is proper
"and convenient; but Events are what no Man
"alive can govern, or ensure to himself:" This is Fortune's doing, which seems to take a kind of envious Joy, in defeating our subtilest Projects, and diverts herself with our Disappointments: She in an Instant blasts our Hopes, and overturns the most regular Schemes, which have cost the Study and Care of many Years, to draw and design; and when all the Matter is duly consider'd and resolv'd; when we have advanced so far, that nothing remains but the last Act; when all is brought to bear (as we call it) she nails up all our Cannon, and puts a full Stop to all the Execution we intended: And, in Truth, this is the only way Fortune takes to make herself great, and maintain her Credit in the World: Thus she exerts her Power over the Affairs of human Life; or, to speak more truly, and in Language more befitting the Mouth of Christians, 'tis thus, that Providence takes down our Pride, and mortifies our Presumption: Fools cannot be made wise by Chance and of a sudden; but then, to check the Vanity of those who have the Advantage in Parts, they are frequently successful, even to a Degree that may provoke the Envy of Virtue and Wisdom itself. Accordingly we may often observe, that Persons of very indifferent Capacities, and small Attainments, have been able to accomplish vast Undertakings, both publick and private; while others of more masterly Judgments have been defeated

in

BOOK III. in Matters of less Difficulty. From all which
 ~~~~~ Reflections my Reader plainly perceives that Prudence is a boundless and a bottomless Sea; never limited by positive Precepts, or reduced to certain and standing Rules; because the Subject it is concerned with, is fickle and inconstant, like the Sea too; and all our Measures must be changed, all are liable to be broke, as oft as the Winds change. One cross Blast blows us back again, or dashes us to pieces upon the Rocks; and neither the best Vessel, nor the best Pilot can be Proof against this Stress of Weather. All then, that Prudence can engage for, is to be circumspect, and consider every Circumstance in the several Lights it is capable of; but still the most discerning Man is in the Clouds; the greatest Judgment and Application finds all its Endeavours frivolous and vain, and that, when he thought he saw all Things clearly, he was all the while groping and blundering in the Dark.

5.  
*Obscure.*

And yet, notwithstanding we cannot arrive to a commanding and infallible Certainty, this Virtue must be acknowledged of exceeding great Weight, and absolute Necessity. For thus much is her just Due; that what is possible to be effected, must be compass'd by her Assistance; that tho' she cannot do all, she can do a great deal; and that however Men are not constantly successful with her, yet without her all their Attempts are frivolous and perfectly insignificant. Not only Riches, but Power, and Opportunities, and Strength for Action, are impotent and vain, if destitute of Wisdom to use them.

*Russell*

# Of WISDOM.

1003  
CHAP. I.  


*\* Rash Force by its own Weight must fall;  
But prudent Strength will still prevail;  
For such the Gods assist and bless.*

*\*\* One good Head is better than a great many Hands.*

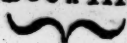
*† Many Things that Nature hath made intricate and difficult, are made easy and very feasible by good Consideration and Advice : Nor does what I urged in the former Paragraph, at all invalidate the Truth of these Observations ; because, though Prudence be not the never-failing Cause, yet it is the usual Cause of Success. God does not always prosper Mens wisest Projects ; to convince us, that the World is not govern'd without him : But He for the most Part prospers fit and proper Means, to encourage our Industry, and as a Proof, that the World is governed regularly by him. Now, that which principally requires our Prudence, is, that we have to do with Men, and the corrupt Disposition of the Persons we deal with, their perverse unmanageable Temper makes Address necessary in all our Transactions : For, of all Creatures in the Universe, there is not any so hard to be subdued and brought to compliance, as Mankind ; ‡ They who cannot bear so much as Equity, and Neighbours Fare, must needs be much less contented with Subjection and Slavery : And therefore nothing less than great Art and Industry is sufficient*

*\* Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua, &c. Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 4.*

*\*\* Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.*

*† Multa, quæ naturâ impedita sunt, consilio expediuntur. Liv.*

*‡ Impatiens æqui, nedum servitutis. Senec. de Clement.*

BOOK III.  to reduce and keep them in order. For tho' we are always disposed to mutiny against them that are in any respect our Superiors, and to fall foul upon People of all Conditions; yet we never do it with so much Zeal, and such eager Malice, as when we make Head against those who pretend to Authority and Dominion over us. Now Prudence has the knack of managing Mankind, and keeping this factious Principle under; a slack and gentle Rein, by which the skilful Rider keeps this skittish Horse in the Road and Ring of Obedience.

Now, altho' Nature hath implanted this, as well as other Virtues in us, and more or less in Proportion to every Man's Capacity and Parts; and, though it be from those original Seeds, that Prudence takes its Beginning; yet is this more acquired, more learned and improved, more the Effect of Study and Application of Thought, than any other Virtue whatsoever. And this Acquisition is in some measure the Fruit of wise Precepts, and good Advice; which we commonly call the Theory or speculative Part of Prudence; but the best and principal Instrument and Help toward it, is Experience (though this require much more Time and Pains) which is term'd therefore the practical Part. And this again is of two sorts: The one truly and properly so, because it is personal, learnt by what happens to, or is done by our own selves, arising from Observations of our own making; and to this, in strict speaking, the Name of *Experience* is appropriated; the other is not our own, but the Result of other Peoples Judgment or Practice; and such is *History*, which informs us by hear-say and reading.



reading. Now our own proper Experience is much the firmer, more assur'd, and may with better Reason be depended upon; for *Use*, as *Pliny* says, *is the best Master*, the Author and Teacher of all Arts and Sciences; the perfectest, though the most tedious and expensive way of Learning\*; it is the Result of many Years and gray Hairs, exceeding hard to be mastered, very laborious, and very rare. The Knowledge of History, as it is less satisfactory and assured, so it is likewise more easy, more frequently to be met with, more obvious and in common to all sorts of People. A Man indeed is more resolute and confident, when he learns Wisdom at his own Cost; but it is much easier and cheaper to grow wise at the Expence of other People: And from these two, Experience, properly so call'd, and historical Prudence is deriv'd; according to that common Saying, † *Experience is my Father, and Memory my Mother; or rather History, which is the Life and Soul of Memory.*

Now Prudence may, and in order to the giving us a clear Notion of the Thing, 'tis necessary it should be distinguished in several Respects; both with regard to the Persons concern'd in the use of it, and the Affairs about which it is employ'd. As to the Persons, we are to observe, that there is first that which we may call private Prudence; and that is either solitary and individual, wherein a Man's single Person only is concern'd; this is something so low and narrow, that it scarce deserves the noble Title of Prudence; or else it is social

6.

\* — Seris venit Usus ab Annis.

† Usus me genuit, peperit Memoria.

Seu memoriae anima & vita Historia.

and

BOOK III, and domestick, confin'd to some small Company, and lesser Societies; and then there is secondly, publick Prudence, which is commonly known by the Name of Policy. This is the more sublime, more excellent and useful, and more difficult to be attained; and to this it is, that all those lofty Characters and large Commendations, in the Beginning of this Chapter, do of right belong; which is again subdivided, according to the different Subjects and Occasions that call for it, into Civil and Military Prudence.

With regard to the Affairs it is conversant about, these are of two Kinds; some ordinary and easie; others difficult and uncommon. There are also several Contingencies, by the Interposition of which, some new Difficulties spring up, which were not in the Nature of the Things; and consequently Doubts and Perplexities not foreseen at the first setting out; and accordingly that Prudence, whose Business it is to manage all these, may be termed either Ordinary, when it proceeds in the plain easy Way, and governs itself by known Rules, established Laws and Customs in common Use; or else Extraordinary, when it is obliged to go out of the beaten Road, and have recourse to difficult Stratagems, and unusual Methods.

There is still one Distinction more behind, which extends both to the Persons, and to the Affairs; or, as the Schools speak, the Subject and the Object of this Prudence. But it is such a one, as regards not so much the several Kinds, as the different Degrees of this Virtue: I mean that Prudence which is truly and properly a Man's own, and gives him the Denomination of Wise; when one acts upon his  
own

own Judgment, and trades with his own Stock; the other a borrowed and precarious Prudence, when we follow the Advice of others. And thus it is, that all Philosophers agree in allowing two sorts of wise Men: The first and highest Rank, are those who walk by their own Light, that penetrate and see through all Difficulties, and always contrive Remedies and Expedients, by the Force of their own Judgment, and happy Fore-cast. But where shall we find these able Men? They are certainly Prodigies in Nature. The other, of inferior Condition, are such as understand how to judge, and take, and make the best Advantage of good Counsel, when it is given them. Now all Persons whatsoever, that make any manner of Pretence to Wisdom, must be included in this Division; for they who neither know how to give good Advice, nor how to take it when others give it, are by no means fit to come under this Character, but the Contrary of Stupidity and Folly.

The general Rules, which concern Prudence at large, in it's most comprehensive Signification, as it relates to Persons and Affairs of all Sorts and Qualities, have been already handled, and some short Account given of them in the Book that went before: And those you remember were eight. First, The true Understanding of the Persons and Business we are engaged with. Secondly, Estimating Things according to their real Worth. Thirdly, The choosing in Consequence of such Valuation. Fourthly, Asking Advice upon every Undertaking. Fifthly, A just Temper between the two vicious Extremes of Confidence, and making sure of all  
on



BOOK III. on the one Hand, and Fear and Despondency on the other. Sixthly, Taking Things in their due Season, and laying hold on Opportunities, when they offer. Seventhly, Managing one's self rightly between Industry and Fortune, ascribing to each the Efficacy that belongs to it, and discharging our Part accordingly. The Eighth and Last is, Discretion in the Practice and Ordering of all the rest; for this must go quite through, and no one Part can be what it ought without it. These were sufficient for my Purpose at that Time, but now I am engaged in another Method; and the Design of this Third Part cannot be answer'd, without descending to Particulars. Here therefore I shall treat of Prudence according to the Distinctions just now specified; and first of all, of that which is Publick, or Policy, as it relates to Persons, and then as it concerns the Affairs, that come under its Care.

---

*Of the Policy fit for a sovereign Prince  
in the Administration of Government.*

The P R E F A C E.

THE Instructions I am here about to give, are design'd to be useful to sovereign Princes, and Governors of States. Their Transactions and Methods are indeed in their own Nature uncertain, unlimited, difficult to be known and practis'd, and the Rules necessary for their high Station, next to impossible to be cast into any certain Form, or prescribed and determined in particular Precepts. But however,  
we

we must try, if we can a little clear this Matter, and make it in any Degree more easy and practicable. What is proper to be said upon this Subject, may be reduc'd to two general Heads, wherein the two great Duties of a Sovereign consist. The first comprehends under it all those principal Pillars by which the State is supported, and treats of Parts of Governments so essential to the Publick, that they are the very Nerves and Bones of this Body Politick; its Sense; its Motion, its Form is lost with, or preserved by them; and these the Prince is in a special Manner concerned to take care, that Himself and the State be constantly well furnished with. The Chief of them, I think, are these Seven, 1. A true Understanding of his Government, the People, and their Constitution. 2. Personal Virtue. 3. Behaviour and Address. 4. Counsellors. 5. Publick Treasures. 6. Men and Arms. And 7. Alliances. The three first are in his own Person; the next in himself and those near his Person; and the three last are more at a Distance from him. The Second general Head consists in Action, in carefully employing, and making the best Advantage of the foremention'd Means; that is, in one Word, but it is a very comprehensive one, in governing well; and keeping up his Honour and Authority; yet so, as at the same Time to secure the Affection and good Understanding both of his own Subjects and Strangers. But to speak more distinctly and particularly, this Part is two-fold, Civil and Military. Thus you have, in a very summary and general Way, the whole Scheme of Government laid before you at once: Thus is the Work cut out, and the first rude Lines drawn, of what the following Chapters must attempt to finish and fill up. For the better Convenience then of my

*Reader, and Myself, I will, according to what hath been here propos'd, divide this Subject of Policy, or Prudence in Government, into two Parts. The First shall be the provisionary Part, or the Care of being furnish'd with those seven necessary Advantages; The Second, and that which presupposes the former already to be done, shall be the Administration, or Management of the Prince. This Subject hath indeed had great Right done to it by Lipsius already; who wrote an excellent Treatise, in a Method peculiar to himself, but the Substance of it you will find all transplanted hither. I have not at all bound myself to his Order, as appears by this general Division already laid down, and will more plainly be seen in the following Parts of this Discourse; nor have I taken the whole of him, but have left Part of what was his behind, and added to it what I thought fit besides.*

---

## C H A P. II.

*The first Branch of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which is the Provisionary Part.*

<sup>1.</sup>  
*Knowledge.* **T**HE first Thing requisite upon this Occasion, and that which must lead the Way to all the rest, is a due Knowledge of the State or Government: For in all manner of Prudence, the leading Rule is Knowledge; and he who is defective in this Qualification, is thereby rendered utterly incapable of all besides, as hath already been intimated



intimated in the second Book. For, whoever undertakes any sort of Action or Management, must begin with informing himself, what his Business is, and with whom it lies. And therefore this Prudence, which undertakes to order and dispose whole Nations and Kingdoms; and whose peculiar Excellence and Commendation lies in the Dexterity and Skill of Governing and Administring the Affairs of the Publick to the best Advantage, is manifestly a relative Virtue; and the Terms of this Relation, whose Concern in this Case is reciprocal, are the Sovereign and his Subjects: The first Step then toward discharging this Duty, is a right Understanding of the Parties; that is, of the People and their Subjection on the one Hand, and the supreme Authority of the Prince on the other; for both these I conclude in the Knowledge of the Government.

First then, a Man in that elevated Post should apply himself to study, and understand the Humour and Complexion of the People: For this Knowledge will be a very great Direction and Model to the Person, to whose Governance they are committed. What the Disposition of the common People is in general, hath been at large explain'd in the first Book, and their Picture drawn at full length. There we observ'd that their reigning Qualities are, Fickleness and Inconstancy; a Spirit of Faction and Discontent; of Impertinence and Folly; Love of Vanity and Change; Insolence and insupportable Pride in Prosperity; Cowardice and Dejection of Mind in Adversity. But besides these Characters, which are common to Persons of that Condition every where, a Man must be still more

BOOK III.

particularly instructed in the Temper and Complexion of that Country, and those Subjects where himself is concern'd : For the Dispositions of Men differ extremely, and are almost as various as the Towns wherein they dwell, or the Persons that inhabit them. Some Nations are in a peculiar and distinguishing Manner, Passionate or Cholerick, Bold and Warlike, Cowardly or Luxurious, addicted to Extravagance, to Wine, to Women, Laborious or Slothful, Frugal or Expensive. And of those who agree in these Qualities, there is a Difference in the Measure ; in some they are more, and in others less predominant. So necessary is that Rule, *\*That the common People must be studied, first to know what they are, and then what is the best Method of dealing with them.* And in this Sense it is, that we are to understand the old Philosophers, when they pronounce Subjection and Obedience, a necessary Preparation to the Art of Ruling ; †*No Man (says Seneca) ever governs well, who hath not first liv'd under Government, and known what it is to be commanded himself.* Not that we are to infer from hence any Necessity, or indeed so much as a Possibility, that all Princes ought to be rais'd to that Dignity from an inferior Condition ; for several of them are born Princes, and a great many Governments pass on in a Line, and come by Succession and Proximity in Blood. But the true Importance of that Maxim is, That whoever is desirous to be a good Governor, must inform him-

*\* Noscenda Natura Vulgi, & quibus modis temperanter habeatur.*

*† Nemo bene imperat, nisi qui ante paruerit imperio.*

self

self of the Humours and Inclinations of his Subjects, and understand which are the reigning Qualities in them, as perfectly well as if he had been one of the same Rank himself, and had felt, and been acted by them in his own Person.

But then it is no less necessary, that the Condition of the Government should be likewise thoroughly understood; and that not only what Sovereignty and Power is in general, according to the Description formerly given of it in the first Part of this Treatise; but the Frame and Temper of that Government and that State in particular, where this Person himself presides, what the Form and Constitution of it is, how it was fix'd and adjusted, and what Extent of Power is vested in him; whether it be an old, or later Establishment; whether it descend by Inheritance, or whether it be conferred by Election; whether it were obtain'd by regular and legal Methods, or whether acquired by Force of Arms; how far his Jurisdiction reaches; what Neighbours are about him; what Strength and what Conveniencies he is provided with. For according to these, and a great many other Circumstances, too tedious to be specified here, a different Sort of Conduct will be found necessary. The Sceptre must be sway'd, as such Considerations shall dictate; one and the same Method will not serve all alike; but the Rules and the Administration must be suited to the Temper of the Beast, and as this proves to be harder or softer mouth'd, so the Rider must take care to keep a slacker or a stiffer Rein.

After this Knowledge of the State and Government, which, as I said, is in the Nature of a Pre-<sup>2.</sup>face, *The second Head, Virtue.*



BOOK III.

face, or Introduction to all the following Heads, the next, both in Order and Dignity is Virtue. And no Man can wonder that so honourable a Place is assign'd to this, among the necessary Qualifications of a Governor, who at all considers, how absolutely and indispensably needful it is to a Prince, and that, both upon his own Account, and for the Benefit of the Publick. First of all, it is highly reasonable, as *Cyrus* well observes, That he, who is above all the rest in Honour and Authority, should be so in Goodness too: This is no more than what such a great and elevated Station may justly seem to require of him. Then his own Reputation is nearly concerned in it; for common Fame makes it one great Part of its Business to pick up and disperse every thing that our Governors do or say: The Prince stands exposed to the publick View; every Eye is upon him, and he is curiously watched. There is no such thing in Nature as Privacy for Princes; They can no more be conceal'd than the Sun in the Firmament. They are the constant Subject of Discourse in every Company; and so are sure to have a great deal of Good, or a great deal of Ill said of them. And it is of exceeding great Consequence to any Governor, both with regard to his Personal, and the common Interest and Safety, what Opinion the World have of him. Nor is it enough, that the supreme Governor be Virtuous in his own Temper and Conversation, but he is likewise obliged to take good Care, that his Subjects be like him in Goodness. And how deeply this concerns him, I appeal to the universal Consent of all good and learned Men, who with one

Voice declare it impossible for that Kingdom or CHAP. II.  
 Nation, that City or less Society of Men to prosper, nay, so much as to subsist long, who have banished Virtue from among them. And those nauseous Flatterers prevaricate much too grossly, who pretend that it is for the Advantage and Security of Princes, that their Subjects should be abandon'd to Wickedness and Vice: Because, say they, this emasculates their Minds, and renders them more tame and servile in their Dispositions; so *Pliny* in his Panegyrick, says, \* *They are more patient under Slavery, who are fit for nothing but to be Slaves.* For, quite contrary, we find by unquestionable Experience, that the more vicious Men are, the more do they flinch, and grow unruly under the Yoke: The good and the gentle, the meek and sweet temper'd Men, these are much better qualified to live in Fear and Awe of Authority themselves, than to be an Awe, or give Occasion of Jealousy to their Governors. † *Every Man is more ungovernable, in Proportion, as he is a worse Man,* says *Salust*: Mutiny and Discontent, and perpetual Uneasiness, are the sure Attendants of a profligate Mind. *On the other Hand, good Men are very easily kept in order; they give their Superiors little Trouble, but had rather submit with Reverence and Fear, than be a Terror or Disturbance to those above them.* Now there cannot be a more powerful Motive, a more efficacious Means of bringing over the People, and forming them into Vir-

\* Patientiores servitutis, quos non decet nisi esse servos.

† Pessimus quisque asperrime Rectorem patitur: Contrà, facile Imperium in Bonos, qui metuentes magis quam metuendi.

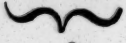
tue, than the Example of the Prince. For (as daily Experience shews) every one affects to be like him; and the Court is the Standard of Manners, as well as of Fashions. The Reason is, because Example is what Men are sooner moved, and more strongly wrought upon by, than Laws; for this is a Law in dumb Show, but hath more Credit and Authority than the Voice of the Law speaking in Commands. *\*We do not want Precepts so much as Patterns, and Example is the softest and least invidious Way of Commanding, says Pliny.* Now, if all Example be a mighty Inducement, that of great Persons must be so in a Degree proportionable to their Quality and Station: For all the little ones fix their Eyes and Hearts here, and take their Observations from those above them. They swallow all without chewing; admire and imitate at a Venture; and conclude, that their Superiors would not be guilty of any Behaviour unbecoming their Character; and if they do any thing, it must needs be excellent and good. And on the other Hand, Governors are so sensible of the Force of this Motive too, that they think their Subjects indispensably obliged to those Rules which they are content to be governed by themselves; and that their own doing what they would have done by others, is singly a sufficient Inducement to bring it into Practice and common Vogue, without the Formality of a Command to enforce it. From all which it is abundantly manifest that Virtue is exceeding necessary and advantagious to a Prince, both in point of Interest, and in point of Honour and Reputation.

† Nec tam Imperio nobis opus quam Exemplo; & mitius jubetur Exemplo.



## Of Prudence in General.

1017

All Virtue is so in Truth, without Exception, CHAP. II.  
though not all equally neither; for there are four   
Species of it, which seem to have greater and more 3.  
Four Prin-  
cipal Vir-  
tues.  
commanding Influence than the rest; and those  
are *Piety, Justice, Valour and Clemency*. These are  
more properly Princely Qualities, and shine bright-  
est of all the Jewels that adorn a Crown; of  
the Excellencies, I mean, that even a Prince's  
Mind can be possibly endued with. This gave  
Occasion to the most illustrious of all Princes, *Au-  
gustus Cæsar*, to say, That Piety and Justice exalt  
Kings, and translate them into Gods: And *Seneca*  
observes, that Clemency is a Virtue more suita-  
ble to the Character of a Prince, than to Persons  
of any other Quality whatsoever.

Now the Piety of a Prince consists, and must  
exert itself in the Care and Application, which he  
ought to use for the Preservation and Advance-  
ment of Religion, of which every Sovereign ought  
to consider himself as the Guardian and Protector.  
And thus indeed he should do for his own Sake;  
for this Zeal and pious Care will contribute very  
much to his own Honour and Safety. For they  
that have any Regard for God, will not dare to  
attempt, no not so much as to contrive or ima-  
gine any Mischief against that Prince who is God's  
Image upon Earth; and who plainly approves him-  
self to be such, by his zealous and tender Concern  
for the Glory and the Institution of his great O-  
riginal. And in Effect, this tends to the Security  
of the People too, and the Quiet of the Govern-  
ment in General. For, as *Lactantius* frequently  
urges, Religion is the common Band that links  
Communities together; Society could not be sup-  
ported

Book III.

ported without it. Take off this Restraint, and the World would be quickly over-run with all manner of Wickedness, Barbarity and Brutality. So great an Interest hath every Government in Religion; so strong, so necessary a Curb is the Sense, and Fear, and Reverence of it to unruly Mankind. Thus on the other Hand, even *Cicero*, who does not appear to have been any mighty Devotee, makes it his Observation, That the *Romans* owed the Rise, and Growth, and flourishing Condition of their Commonwealth, to their exemplary Respect for Religion, more than any other Cause whatsoever. Upon this Account, every Sovereign is very highly concern'd, and strictly oblig'd to see, that Religion be preserv'd entire, and that no Breaches be made upon it: That it be encourag'd and supported, according to the establish'd Laws, in all its Rights, Ceremonies, Usages, and local Constitutions: Great Diligence should be used to prevent Quarrels, Divisions and Innovations; and severe Punishments inflicted upon all who go about to alter, or disturb, or infringe it. For, without all Controversy, every Injury done to Religion, and all rash and bold Alterations in it, draw after them a very considerable Damage to the civil State; weaken the Government, and have a general ill Influence upon Prince and People both; as *Mæcneas* very excellently argues, in his Oration to *Augustus*.

4. Next after Piety, Justice is of greatest Consequence and Necessity; without which Governments are but so many Sets of *Banditti*, Robbers and Invaders of the Rights of their Brethren. This therefore a Prince ought by all Means to preserve and

Justice and  
Fidelity.

and maintain in due Honour and Regard; both CHAP. II. in his own Person and Conversation, and in the Observance of those under his Jurisdiction.

1. It is necessary to be strictly observed by the Sovereign himself: For nothing but Detestation, and the utmost Abhorrence is due to those barbarous and tyrannical Maxims, which pretend to set a Prince above all Laws; and to compliment him with a Power of Dispensing at Pleasure with Reason, and Equity, and all manner of Obligation and Conscience; which tell Kings that they are not bound by any Engagements, and that their Will and Pleasure is the only Measure of their Duty; that Laws were made for common Men, and not for such as they; that every thing is Good and Just, which they find most practicable and convenient: In short, that their Equity is their Strength; and whatever they can do, that they may do. \* *No Man ever presumes to prescribe to Princes, or include them within the Verge of any Laws, but their own Inclinations. In the highest Post, Justice is always on the stronger Side: That which is most profitable, can never be unlawful. Holiness and Piety, Faith and Truth, and common Honesty are the Virtues of private Men: Princes may take their own Course, and are above these vulgar Dispensations.* So say Pliny and Tacitus. But against this false Doctrine, too apt to be liked by Persons in Power, I entreat my wise Prince, to oppose the really excellent and pious Sentences and Di-

\* Principi Leges nemo scripsit. Licet, si libet. In summâ fortunâ id æquius quod validius; nihil injustum quod fructuosum. Sanctitas, Pietas, Fides privata bona sunt; quâ juvat Reges eant.



reactions of grave and good Philosophers. " They  
 " tell you, that the greater Power any Man is  
 " invested with, the more regular and modest he  
 " should be in the Exercise of it: That is one of  
 " those things which must always be used with a  
 " Reserve; and the more one could do, the less it  
 " will become him to do. That the more abso-  
 " lute and unbounded any Man's Authority is, the  
 " greater Check, and more effectual Restraint he  
 " hath upon him. That every Man's Ability  
 " should be measured by his Duty; and what he  
 " may not, that he cannot do." \* *He that can  
 do what he will, must take care to will but a very  
 little. And great Men should never think they have  
 a Liberty of doing what ought not to be done.*

The Prince then ought to lead the Way, and  
 be first, and most eminent for Justice and Equity;  
 and particularly he must be sure to be very pun-  
 ctual to his Word, and to keep his Faith and  
 his Promise most inviolably; because Fidelity and  
 Truth is the Foundation of all Manner of Justice  
 whatsoever; whether to all his Subjects in gene-  
 ral, or to each Person in particular. How mean  
 soever the Party, or how slight soever the Oc-  
 casion be, still his Word must be sacred. When  
 he hath thus provided for his own Behaviour, his  
 next Care is, to see that others are Just too. For  
 This indeed is the fundamental Article of all Go-  
 vernment, the very End of its Institution, and  
 the particular Trust put into the Hands of every  
 Sovereign. He hath his Power committed to him  
 for this very Purpose, to take care that Justice

\* Minimum decet liberè, cui nimium licet,  
 Non fas potentes posse, fieri quod nefas.

be equally distributed, and Wrongs and Oppressions redress'd, by interposing his Arbitration, and the Power of the Sword: Therefore he ought in Person, or in Authority and Deputation, to hear and decide Causes; to let every one have a fair Trial, to award to each Party what by the Letter of the Law, or by the equitable Construction of it, belongs to him; and all this without Delays, or Quirks, or Trickings; without perplexing the Case, or countenancing foul and litigious Practice: And in order hereunto it were very well if that Way of Pleading now in use, could be either reformed, as it ought, or quite turn'd out of Doors; which is at present become a most vile, a most destructive Trade, a perfect Market, \* *A Robbery and Picking of Pockets countenanc'd by the Law*, and upheld under the Pretence of a learned and honourable Profession. It will also be adviseable to avoid, as much as may be, Multiplicity of Laws and Decrees, which only breed Confusion, and are † *A Symptom of a sick and corrupt State*, as sure as taking much Physick, and wearing many Plaisters, are Signs of gross Humours and ill Health. For unless some Care of this Kind be taken, that which is established by good and wise Laws, will be defeated and quite overturned again by too many Laws.

One thing, by the way, ought not to be omitted upon this Occasion; which is, that the Justice, and Virtue, and Probity of a Prince is not in all Points ty'd up to the same Methods and

\* Concessum Latrocinium. Columel.

† Corruptissimæ Reipub. plurimæ leges.

BOOK III.

manner of proceeding with that of Persons in a private Capacity. It hath a larger Range, and freer Scope allow'd; and all the Latitude is Indulgence little enough; no more than is absolutely necessary for the weighty and hazardous Office our Governors are engag'd in, and the infinite unconceivable Difficulties that arise in their Administration. This makes it reasonable for them to go in a Way by themselves; the common and direct Tract is too narrow; they are oblig'd to shift, and dodge, and wheel about, and whatever censures People, who understand not the Nature of the Case, may pass, as if every thing that is unusual and indirect, were presently Wicked and Unjust; yet those who are capable of considering, and competent Judges of the Matter, must admit it to be lawful and allowable, as well as prudent, and needful for them to do. For Prudence must be mix'd with Justice; some Feints and Stratagems, and little Slights made use of; and (as they commonly express it) when the Lion's Skin is not big enough of itself, it must be eked out, by tacking a Fox-skin to it.

Nor would I be so mistaken here neither, as to be thought a Justifier of these crafty Dealings at all times, and in all Cases indifferently. By no Means. This is not a standing Rule of Action; but must be reserv'd for special Occasions, and particularly, there must be three Conditions to warrant it. The first is absolute Necessity, or at least, some evident and very considerable Advantage to the Publick (that is, to the Prince and the State, who are to be look'd upon as one and the same, and their Interests altogether inseparable) and  
this



this must by all means be consulted, and made the chief Aim. This is a natural, an indispensable Obligation: For the Publick Good is a Consideration paramount to all others; and the Man that is procuring it, cannot but be doing his Duty.

*\*The Safety of the People must be the Supreme Law.*

The second Qualification which these Methods must have to recommend them, nay, indeed to acquit them of Blame, is, that they be used defensively only, and not offensively; with a Design to preserve a Prince or a State, but not to aggrandize them and oppress others. For this Reason they should seldom or never be begun with, but only returned back again; and then are they in proper Time and Place, when employ'd to save the Publick from Snares and subtle Designs, and not to contrive, but to discover and defeat, mischievous and wicked Practices. For one Trick may be answered with another; and it is reasonable to play the Fox with the Fox. The World is exceeding full of Malice and Cunning: And *Aristotle's* Observation is most true, that the Subversion of States and Kingdoms is usually owing to Treachery and Deceit. What then should hinder? What forbid? Nay, in such Exigencies, what can excuse the Conservators of the publick Safety, from preventing and disappointing such Calamities and villainous Intentions by countermining? Why may not the State save itself by the same Methods that were practis'd to ruin it, and retort the Artifice of factious and wicked Male-contents back

\* *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto.*

upon

upon their own Heads? For a Man to be too squeamish in these Cases; to play constantly above-board, and upon the square, and deal with these Men according to the Rules of that rigorous Equity and Plain-dealing; which Reason and Conscience require from us in private Affairs, is inconsistent with the Nature and the Measures, nay, with the very End of all Government; and the Event would often be the betraying and losing all, and sacrificing the Publick to an unreasonable Scruple.

The third Qualification is, that these Methods be used moderately and discreetly: As they are not fit for all Times, nor all Occasions; so neither are all Persons fit to be trusted with them. For they are capable of great Abuses; and if abused, will prove of ill Example, and ill Consequence, by ministring Occasion to ill Men, to practise and justify their Frauds and indirect Dealings, and so giving Countenance to Wickedness and Injustice, even in private Commerce and Transactions: For a Man is never at Liberty to forsake Virtue and Honesty, to follow Vice and Injustice: These things are so far from indifferent, that there is no Possibility of reconciling those distant Extreams, no Satisfaction capable of being made for so ill a Choice: And therefore away with all Injustice and Infidelity, all treacherous and illegal Proceedings; and cursed be the Principles, and the Politics of those Men, who (as instanc'd before) would possess Sovereign Commanders with a Belief that all things are lawful, if they be but expedient for them. There is a vast Difference between such an arbitrary Notion of Right and Wrong,

Wrong, and the Rules and Limitations I have here laid down, Reasons of State may sometimes make it necessary to temper Honesty with Profit, and try if these two can be so mingled together as to make a good Composition. But tho' we may try to compound and soften the Matter, yet we must never act in Opposition to Justice. We may, nay, we must sometimes use Artifice and Subtilty; we may sometimes wheel off a little, and fetch a Compass about it; but we must never lose Sight of it, much less turn our Backs upon it, and cast all Regard for so sacred a Thing behind us: For there is a Cunning very consistent with Virtue and strict Honour, such as St. Basil the Great calls *a great and commendable Cunning* (*Magna & laudabilis Astutia*) such as tends to good; and may be used, as Mothers and Physicians deal by their Children and their Patients, when they tell them fine Stories to amuse and entertain them, and by degrees cheat them into Health. In short, many Things may be transacted secretly, and in the Dark, which are not fit for publick View, and will not bear an opener Process; Prudence and Stratagem may be added to Courage and Strength. Art and Wit may supply the Defects of Nature and Force, in Cases which these are not sufficient to manage: A Governor may, nay, he ought to be, as *Pindar* calls it, a Lion in the Field, and a Fox at the Council-Table; or as that divine Saviour, who was Truth itself, hath exprest himself upon another Occasion; he may be a subtle Serpent, but still a harmless Dove.

To say somewhat of this Matter more particularly, and give the Reader a distinct Notion, <sup>6. Distrusting others.</sup> what

U u u



BOOK III.

what sort of Subtilty I mean. I say that Distrust, and the keeping himself much upon the Reserve, is highly requisite in a Prince; and this is to be done, without abandoning Virtue and Equity. Distrust, which is the former of these two Qualifications, is absolutely necessary; as indeed its Contrary, Credulity, and Easiness, and rash Confidence, is a very great Fault, and of most dangerous Consequence to a Prince: For his Station obliges him to Vigilance; he is accountable for the whole Community, and therefore no Faults of his own can be light and inconsiderable; and where every Action hath so mighty Effect, such universal Influence, great Care should be taken, and every thing done advisedly. If he be of a confiding Temper, he discovers his Intentions, and lays himself open to Shame and Reproach, and a World of Dangers; \* *He lays himself in the Way of being ill used*; nay, he even invites and tempts treacherous and deceitful People to practise upon him; and gives them a Power to do a World of Mischief, with very little Danger, and great Opportunities of Advantage to themselves. Knaves have always the Inclination to be false; and trusting them, gives them Ability of gratifying that Inclination to our Prejudice. A Prince should always retreat behind this Shield of Diffidence; as some of the Philosophers have stiled it, who represent it as a very considerable Branch of practical Wisdom, the very Nerves and Sinews, that impart Strength and Motion. That Diffidence, I mean, which consists in keeping ones Eyes open, ones Mind in sus-

\* *Opportunus Injuriz. Senec. Aditum nocendi Perfidio præstat Fides.*

pence, suspecting and providing against every thing. CHAP. II.

And for all this, he will not need any more convincing Reason, any stronger Inducement, than barely the Reflections upon the Temper and Condition of the World would give him. To observe, how all Mankind are made up of Falshood and Deceit, of Tricks and Lies; how unfaithful and dangerous, how full of Disguise and Design all Conversation is at present become; but especially, how much more it abounds near his own Person, and how manifestly Hypocrisy and Dissimulation are the reigning Qualities of Princes Courts, and great Men's Families, above any other Places whatsoever. A King therefore must be sure to trust but few, but very few; and those should always be such as long Acquaintance, and many Trials have given him a perfect Understanding, and good Assurance of. And even these most intimate Confidants must be consulted with so discreetly, that he never commit himself entirely, and without any reserve to them; he must not give them all the Rope, but constantly keep one End in his own Hand; and how long a Range soever he think fit to allow them, yet it will be very necessary to have an Eye always upon their Motions. But yet at the same time, this very Distrust must be concealed, and dissembled too; and in the very midst of his Reserves, a Prince must put on the Air of Openness and Friendship, and appear to repose a mighty Confidence in those about him. For nothing is more provoking and offensive, than plainly to see one's self suspected; and this Distance and Jealousy is sometimes as strong a Temptation to Treachery and foul Play, as too supine, and free

BOOK III. a Confidence. \* *Many Persons, says Seneca, have put it into People's Heads to deceive them, who would never have harbour'd any such Thought, if their own Fears of being deceived, had not given the first Hint.* And thus it is sometimes in the other Extreme too; a very great Frankness, and declar'd Reliance, oftentimes takes off the Inclination to betray a Secret, and wrong the good Opinion and Confidence you have of them: And many People have been brought over to strict Loyalty and Fidelity, and hearty Affection, by seeing themselves freely dealt with. For † *Every body naturally loves to be trusted; and the reposing a more than ordinary Confidence, sometimes fixes a Man in your Interests, and engages him to be secret and faithful.* So much Ingenuity still remains in the most degenerate Minds, that they see the Odiousness of Treachery and Falshood; and tho' Gain puts too many upon doing the thing, yet not one of all those can bear the Imputation, or be reconciled to the Character of Falsifying a Trust.

From that Distrust springs Dissimulation; which is a Branch of the same Stock: For were there no such thing as Diffidence and Reserve, but Frankness and Fidelity, and good Assurance every where, there would be no place left for Dissembling; whose Business it is to open the Face, but cover the Heart; and while one's outward Air seems to unlock all, to keep the Thoughts and Intentions close and unseen. Now the same Dissimulation, which in Persons of private Condition would be

\* Multi fallere docuerunt timentes falli. Sen.

† Vult quisque sibi credi, & habita fides ipsam plerunque obligat fidem.



vicious and abominable, is in Princes highly commendable; there is no discharging their weighty Affairs without it; and the very thing which ruins common Conversation, is the best Security, and necessary Support of Government. Feints and Pretences are absolutely requisite, not in a military Conduct only, and time of War, to amuse Enemies and Strangers, but even in Peace, and civil Administration towards one's Subjects; tho' upon such Occasions, I confess, they ought to be practised more sparingly and nicely. The plain, and free, and open, such as we commonly say carry their Hearts in their Faces, are by no means cut out for the Business of governing; they often ruin and betray both themselves and their People: And yet, as was observed in the former Paragraph, so here again, this Dissimulation requires some Dexterity and Skill. It is not every one whose Temper will let him dissemble, that is Master of this Art; for unless the Part be play'd well, it is absolutely spoil'd; and therefore care must be taken of over-doing, and unseasonableness, and awkward improper Carriage: For this is easily seen thro', and then you lose your End. For to what Purpose do you hide and disguise yourself, if the Mask be so plain, that every Body can distinguish, and see you put it on? And how vain are all Pretences and little Artifices, when the Secret is once out, and the Design hath taken Air? Their very Nature then is changed, and they cease from thenceforward to be Artifices any more. It is therefore fit for a Prince to pretend to Simplicity and Sincerity, the better to cover his Address of this Kind; and convenient for him to court, and caress, and

Book III.

commend Men of open Tempers and free Carriage, and all that profess themselves Enemies to Dissimulation; nay, it is expedient for him, in matters of less Consequence, to act so, and gain the Reputation of such a one himself, that so he may be more at Liberty to use Art and Reserve in Affairs of greater Moment, and be safe from Jealousy when he does so, under the Shelter of a contrary Character.

8. What hath hitherto been exemplify'd, is chiefly on the omitting Side; and the Exercise of it consists not so much in Action, as in forbearing, and seeming not to act. But some Occasions require a great deal more; and therefore a Prince must be qualify'd for bolder Strokes, and advance to actual Deceit; of which there are two Sorts necessary to be understood, and sometimes to be practis'd.

The first is, that of settling a private Correspondence, and getting Intelligence under-hand: The engaging the Affections and Services of Officers, Attendants, Counsellors, and Confidants to foreign Princes; or, if Occasion be, contriving to have secret Information, not only how one's Enemies, or Brother-Kings, but even one's own Subjects behave themselves, and what Designs are brewing. This is a sort of Subtilty much in request, and every where made use of, between one Prince and another; and *Tully* recommends it as a very considerable Point of Prudence. Sometimes this is effected by the Power of Persuasion only; but, generally speaking, there are more sensible and moving Arguments made use of, than bare Words can pretend to, Presents I mean, and Pensions;

Pensions; whose Force is so irresistible, that not only Secretaries of State, Presidents of Councils, particular Friends, and intimate Favourites, have by this means been prevailed upon to communicate, and so prevent, and defeat the Designs of the Master, whose Bread they eat, and to whose Countenance and Bounty they owe all their Greatness; not only Commanders have assisted their Enemies in Time of Action; but, which is still more prodigious, and proves the Almighty Power of Bribery, to the eternal Reproach of treacherous corrupt Nature, even Wives themselves have been hired to discover the Secrets, and betray the Safety of their own Husbands. Now this corrupting the Confidants of others, is what a great many make no scruple of approving: And indeed, if it be practised either against a declared Enemy, or a Subject of one's own, who hath ministred just Grounds of Suspicion; or if it be against any Stranger in general, with whom we are under no particular Engagements of Alliance or Friendship, or mutual Trusts, there seems to be no great Difficulty in allowing it to Princes: But certainly it can never be justify'd against Confederates and Friends! For where any such Obligations intervene, these very Attempts to debauch these, upon whose Secrecy and Advices they rely, is a piece of Treachery never to be indulged them.

The other sort of necessary Deceit, is the Address of gaining Advantages, and compassing one's Design by cunning and unseen Methods; by equivocating and ambiguous Terms; by refin'd Subtilties, and deep Intrigues; by good Words, fair Promises, Complements and Congratulations, the

U u u 4

Formalities



Formalities of Embassies and Letters; by these outwardly fair Pretences, and amusing Stratagems, bringing Matters about, and securing Advantages, which the want of Time, or Opportunity, or the Difficulty and Perplexity of a Prince's Affairs had cut him out from effecting any other way: And so he must work like a Mole, under-ground, and do that unseen and behind the Curtain, which will not bear the open Stage. There have been several great and wise Men of Opinion, that these Proceedings are lawful as well as expedient. \*Governors ought to make no scruple of having frequent recourse to Lies and Tricks, when the Advantage of their Subjects is concerned (says one). And another, That it is a part of Prudence to deceive, as occasion, and the present Posture of Affairs shall require. I must confess for my own part, these seem to me very bold Assertions; and I think the pronouncing such Practices generally and in themselves lawful, favours of too much Positiveness, or too great Latitude. The furthest I dare stretch in favour of them, and that possibly one might venture to say, is, that where the Case is almost desperate, and the Necessity exceeding urgent; when it is a Season of Perplexity, and Confusion, and general Disorder; when the End proposed to be attained by it, is not only the promoting the Interest or Greatness of a Commonwealth, but the averting and shifting off some very great and threatening Mischiefs; and when the Persons, against whom

Plato. Pli-  
ny. Valer.  
Maxim.

\* Crebro mendacio & fraude uti Imperantes debent ad Commodum Subditorum. Decipere pro moribus temporum Prudentia est.

we take these Advantages, are profligate, and of no Principles themselves : I say, all these Circumstances concurring, a Man perhaps might venture to say, that such Tricks of State are either no Faults; or if they be, very moderate and pardonable Faults. CHAP. II.

\* But there are other Instances still behind, of much greater Difficulty ; such as minister very just grounds of Doubt whether they are allowable upon Reasons of State, or not, because they have strong Tincture of Injustice, and border hard upon Oppression. I say they have a strong Tincture, because they are not totally unjust ; for there is a Mixture of Justice at the same time, to temper and allay the Injustice that is in them. For were there not so, there could be no scruple. That which is altogether unjust, and manifestly so, all Men agree in condemning ; even the vilest Wretches alive have not yet put off all Distinctions of Right and Wrong, all Sense of Guilt and Shame : But what they allow themselves in the Practice of, even that they disallow in Profession and Pretence. But the Case is otherwise in mixt Actions ; there

\* The Reader is desired to observe how cautious and tender the Author is at the End of these Cases, which is the more remarkable, because he lived under an absolute and arbitrary Government, where many things were practised and allowed, which can by no means hold, or be drawn into Precedents in limited Constitutions. And generally speaking, no doubt that Prince governs best, who brings his Measures nearest to those of common and private Justice. The Reader will find an excellent Remark to this Purpose, made by one who was himself an Emperor, in *M. Antonin. sic inveni. Lib. ix. §. 24.*

are

BOOK III. are Arguments and Appearances of Reason, at least, Examples and Authorities on both sides; and a Man that enters into the Disquisition, does not find it easy what Resolutions to take. At least he finds somewhat to give Countenance to what his Convenience persuades; and that which hath divided Men's Judgments, and made it a moot Point, he thinks will be sufficient for his Vindication. Abundance of Cases of this Nature might be specify'd; but at present I shall content myself with a few, that now occur to me, and leave it to the Reader, to put others like, or parallel to these, as he sees fit.

What shall we say first to the ridding one's Hands of a troublesome pestilent Fellow, that propagates Faction and Disorder, and is eternally breaking the publick Peace, by getting him taken off secretly, without any legal Process? This Man, take notice, is supposed to deserve Death, but the Circumstances of the Offender, and of the Prince, are such, that without manifest Danger to the State he cannot be brought to Justice, nor made an Example in the common Way. Here is, they tell you, no material Injustice in all this; the Offender hath but his Due; and as Matters stand, the Publick is better served by his having it in this way, than it could be, by punishing him after the Manner of other Offenders of the like Nature. So that the most you can make of this, is a Breach of the Forms and Methods prescribed by Law; and surely, they tell you, the Sovereign Prince is above Forms.

The next is clipping the Wings, and giving a Check to the Wealth and Power of some great Man,



Man, who is growing popular, and strengthening his Interest; and both from his Ability and Inclination to do Mischief, becomes formidable to his Prince. The Question here is, whether a Prince may not lower, and cut such a potent Subject short in time, without staying so long for a fair Provocation, that he shall be grown too big to be dealt with; and if any Attempts be made, either against the publick Peace in general, or the Life of the Prince in particular, it will not then be possible to prevent, or to punish them, tho' we would never so fain.

Another is, in an extreme Exigence, and when no other Supplies are to be had, seizing upon private Stocks, and so compelling some of the wealthiest Subjects to furnish the publick Necessities, when the Nation is not able by all its publick Funds to support itself.

A fourth is infringing and vacating some of the Rights and Privileges, which some of the Subjects enjoy, when the Authority of the Prince is prejudiced and diminished, and his Grandeur eclipsed by the Countenance of them. The last is, a point of Prevention, when a Fort, or a Town, or a Province very commodious to the Government is seiz'd, and got into a Prince's Hands by interposing first; and to keep it out of the Possession of some other powerful, and very formidable Neighbour, who by making himself Master of this Pass, would have been in a Condition of doing great Injury, and giving perpetual Disturbance to this Prince and his Country, who are now the first Occupiers.

All

All these things, I know, sound harsh, and are hardly, if at all, to be reconciled with the common Notions of Justice. Matters of State are neither fit nor safe for me to give a Judgment in; thus much only, I think, may not mis-become this place to say, that, as on the one Hand the indulging, and having frequent Recourse to such Actions is very dangerous, gives just Matter of Jealousy to the Subject, and will be apt to degenerate into Tyranny, and exorbitant Use of Power; so on the other, it is plain, Subjects ought to be modest, and very sparing in censuring the Actions of their Prince, and the Steps he makes for the publick Safety, however bold they may seem, and beyond the Lengths which are commonly gone. And this suspending at least of our Judgments, in Matters of another, and very distant Sphere, will appear the more reasonable, when I have shewed you that very eminent Men, Persons of acknowledged Virtue as well as vast Learning and Wisdom, have approved all those Practices already mention'd, and think them not amiss, provided the Success be good, and answer their Intentions. And to this Purpose I will quote you here some of those Sentences and Remarks, which they have left us upon such Occasions.

*In order to preserve Justice in greater and more important Matters, there is sometimes a Necessity (says Plutarch) of deviating from it in those of less Moment. And in order to doing Right to the Generality, and in the Gross, it is allowable to put some Hardships, and be guilty of some Wrong to particular Persons.*

\* Com-

\* Commonly speaking, (says Tacitus) the bravest Exploits, and most celebrated Examples, carry somewhat of Injustice in them: But in this Case, what private Men suffer is abundantly compensated by the Benefit, which the Publick receives from it. † A prudent Prince, says Plutarch again, must not only know how to govern according to Law; but, if a necessary Occasion require it, he must learn to govern even the Laws themselves; when they fall short of their End, and cannot do what they would, he must stretch and correct, and give a new Power to the Laws, where they happen to be defective; that is, if they are not willing he should do what is fitting in that Juncture, he must make them willing. ‡ When the State is in Confusion, and things brought to a Plunge, the Prince (says Curtius) must not think himself obliged to follow that which will look or sound best to the World, but that which the present Extremity calls for. And again, \*\* Necessity (says Seneca) That great Refuge and Excuse for humane Frailty, breaks thro' all Laws; and he is not to be accounted in fault,

\* Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod adversus singulos utilitate publicâ rependitur.

† "Ουτως ηγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων, ἢ κατὰ τὰς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀρχὴν ἠπίστατο πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, &c. in fine Flamin.

‡ Non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse. Q. Curt. Lib. v.

\*\* Necessitas magnum imbecillitatis humanæ patrociniū, omnem Legem frangit; non est nocens, quicunque non sponte est nocens. Senec.

whose



BOOK III. *whose Crime is not the Effect of Choice, but Force.*  
*Aristotle's Rule is, If a Prince cannot be good in every part of his Government, 'tis enough that he be so in the greater, or at least an equal part; but let him be sure not to be bad in every part. And Democritus, That it is impossible for the best Princes in the World not to be guilty of some Injustice.*

Thus much however, I presume to add, that let these Actions of theirs find never so favourable Interpretations, never so just Allowances; yet, for their own Justification, and the softening, as much as may be, the Odium of such irregular Proceedings; there is not only a Necessity that they should be reserved for the last Extremities, but that when Princes are perfectly driven to make use of them, they should go about it with a real Unwillingness and great Regret. They should look upon this Necessity to which they are reduced, as a very particular Misfortune, and Mark of an angry Providence; and all their Behaviour and Repentments upon such Occasions, must be like those of tender Parents, when, fore against their Will, a beloved Child is to have a Limb scar'd, or cut off; Methods which nothing but the Hope of saving his Life, by this only Remedy, could ever prevail with them to submit to; or as a Man in extremity of Pain goes about the drawing a Tooth, when nothing else will ease or assuage the Anguish. And now I have related the Opinions of very eminent Philosophers and Politicians, and observed what Abatements they are content to make for Cases of Necessity; I must once more solemnly avow, that as for any Passages, or politick Maxims, which pretend to greater Liberties, such as  
 set

set a Prince above all Consideration of Law or Justice, that make Profit and Greatness the only End worthy his prosecuting; and either place Advantage upon the Level with Honesty, or set it higher, every good Man must abominate them; and every good Governor will be so far from taking his Measures according to this Standard, that he will reject them with Detestation and Disdain.

I have insisted so much the longer upon this Branch of a Prince's Virtue; because of the many Difficulties and Doubts, which arise upon this Point of Justice; the regular Exercise and Administration whereof must needs be very much interrupted and perplexed by the infinite Emergencies, and sudden and extraordinary Changes, and the Necessities that the Publick happens to be involv'd in. And these oftentimes are so very intricate and pressing, that they may very well be allowed to puzzle the wisest, and to stagger the bravest, and most resolute Commanders.

After Justice follows Valour: By which I mean particularly that Virtue which is Military; the Courage, the Conduct, the Capacity, which go to the making a compleat General. For this is a Qualification absolutely necessary for a Prince, for the Defence and Security of his own Person, and the Publick both: The Welfare of his Subjects, the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Rights and Liberties of a Nation. All lie at his Charge; he is their Conservator, and they depend upon his Ability, to assert, and protect, and maintain them. All which Valour only can enable him to do; and by the very little said already upon it, that appears to be so essential a part of the Royal

II.  
Valour.

BOOK III. royal Character, that a Man who hath it not, scarce deserves the Name of a Prince.

12. *Clemency.* Let us now proceed to the fourth Princely Virtue, which is *Clemency*. By which I mean such a Habit and Disposition of Mind, as inclines the Prince to Mildness and Gentleness; to gracious Allowances, and large Abatements from the Rigour of the Law and Extremity of Justice; and all this temper'd with Judgment and Discretion. This moderates, manages, and sweetens all; it spurs the Guilty, relieves the poor and dejected, and rescues those that are ready to perish. Clemency in the Ruler answers to Humanity in common Men; it is contrary to Cruelty and Excess of Rigour, but not to Justice; for with this it is very reconcilable, and all its Care is to soften, and to moderate its Determination. Nothing can be more necessary, more seasonable, considering the many Infirmities of humane Nature; how great a part of Mankind offend wilfully, and do what they should not; and how often do even the best intending Men fall short of what they should? Extreme Rigour, and \* severe Usage, without any Intermission, any Abatement, spoils all, it hardens Mens Tempers, and brings Authority into Contempt. Punishments lose their Force, and their End, when made common, and executed every Day; they provoke Mens Inclinations and Malice (for indeed Men are often wicked out of meer Rage and Spight) and many Rebellions have been rais'd by the Thirst of Revenge. There is something in Fear, which is even destructive of Duty, if it be not tempered, and kept within Bounds by Lenity and good Nature;

\* Severitas amittit assiduitate Authoritatem,

and



and if turn'd into Horror by sharp Usage, and too strong Impressions, it grows Furious and Desperate, Malicious and Bloody. Thus the Author hath observ'd very truly, *\*That Fear which secures Peace and good Order, must be moderate: If once it become continual and extreme, it spurs Men on to Mutiny and Revenge.* Clemency is likewise of great Advantage, both to the Prince and the Publick, as it gains the good Will of the Subjects, and binds them in the straitest, and the surest Ties to the Government; even those of Affection and Kindness, for these are always the strongest, and most lasting Security; and † *a Prince never sits so fast, as when his Subjects are easy, and take a Pleasure in their Obedience,* as I shall have Occasion to shew hereafter. For in such a Case the People will look upon their Governor, as a sort of Deity incarnate; they will honour and adore him as such; they will respect and love him as their Guardian, their common Father, their Friend; and instead of any uneasy Fear of him, they will be in perpetual Fear for him; tender of his Life and his Person; and in mighty Pain and Solitude, lest any Ill should happen to either; consequently they will be zealous in his Defence, firm to all his Interests, averse and implacable to his Enemies. This then is the Lesson, in which all Princes should be perfect; to get themselves well inform'd of all that is done; not to prosecute every Crime they know; nay, many times to act, and manage themselves, as if they knew it not; to be better satisfied with the

\* Temperatus Timor est qui cohibet; Assiduus & acer in vindictam excitat.

† Firmissimum Imperium, quo obedientes gaudent. Tit. Liv.

BOOK III. Character of having found their Subjects made good to their Hands, than that of having reform'd, and made them so by any Rigours of their own; readily to extend their Grace to small Faults, and where such Easiness may be inconvenient, to render heinous Offenders very exemplary, and make them smart severely for their Insolence, and bold Contempt of the Laws. To consider, that frequent Executions are an Aspersion to their Government, and bring as great Scandal upon their Reign, as the Death of many Patients doth to the Practice of a Physician; and therefore not to be fond of taking Men off upon every Provocation, but to content themselves oftentimes with a Malefactor's Repentance, and esteem the Sense of his Guilt, his Shame, and Remorse, and Self-condemnation a Punishment sufficient.

*\* Relenting Misery inclines the Brave,  
Conquerors are most triumphant when they save;  
Justice and Mercy may suspend their Strife,  
He suffers for his Crime, who yields to beg his Life.*

Nor is there any just Ground of that Apprehension, which some People very inconsiderately pretend, upon these Occasions, that such Mercy will be taken for Tameness or Impotence; that it makes a Prince despicable in the Eyes of his People; gives his Enemies Advantage, provokes turbulent Spirits to insult, and loosens the Nerves of Government: For the Effect is really quite contrary. Such Mildness is a mighty strengthening to a Prince; adds

*\* ——— Ignoscere pulchrum,  
Iam misero, potiusq; genus vidisse precantem.*

Vigour

Vigour and Efficacy to his Commands, and wonderfully raises his Reputation. A Prince that is well belov'd, shall be able to do more with the Hearts of his Subjects, than all the Awe and Terror in the World: This may put Men into Trembling and Astonishment, but it gives them no true Principle of Obedience; and, as *Salust* argued in his Oration to *Cesar*, such Governments are never stable, and of long Continuance, because they are built upon an ill Bottom. Whoever he be, that is feared by a great many, hath a great many whom he hath reason to be afraid of too. The Fear, which he sheds down upon all about him, dashes back again upon his own Head. Such a sort of Life is full of Anxieties and Mis-givings; and a Man is surrounded with Dangers, that threaten him continually from every Quarter. It is true indeed, this Clemency ought not to be extended without any Distinction; Judgment, as was said in the Beginning of the Paragraph, must direct and determine it. For, as it is a Virtue, and that which attracts the profoundest Veneration, when judiciously managed; so is it a Vice of most pernicious Consequence, when degenerating into soft and easy Tameness.

After these four principal Virtues, which are the brightest Jewels in a Prince's Diadem, there follow some others of a second Form; and these, tho' inferior to the former in Lustre, have yet their just Value, and are necessary and useful, tho' not so absolutely, and in so high a Degree. Liberality, for Instance, which is so much more suitable to a Prince's Character, as it is a greater Reflection upon him to be vanquish'd by Bounty and Mag-

13.  
Liberality.

X x x 2

nificence,



Book III.

nificence, than to be worsted in the Field. But here too, there is great need of Discretion; for, where That is wanting, this Quality will be apt to do more hurt than good.

*Of two  
Kinds.*

There are two Kinds of Liberality. The one consists in Sumptuousness and Shew; and this is to very little purpose. It is certainly a very idle and vain Imagination, for Princes to think of raising their Character, and setting themselves off by August, and Splendid, and expensive Appearances: Especially too among their own Subjects, where they can do what they please, and are sure to have no Rival of their Grandeur. This seems rather a Mark of a little Soul; an Argument, that they want a due Sense of what they really are, and is both beneath them to do, and very unacceptable to their People to see. For, however for the present, Subjects may gaze at their Poms with Delight, yet as soon as the Entertainment is over, they presently begin to reflect, that their Princes are thus enrich'd, and adorn'd with their Spoils; that this is no better than being sumptuously feasted at their Cost; and that the Money, which now feeds their Sight with Triumphs and gaudy Greatness, is pinch'd from more necessary Occasions, and would have been much better sav'd to feed their Bellies. And besides all this, a Prince should be so far from Lavish, and Profuse, that he should make a great Conscience of Frugality; for indeed he should think nothing he enjoys strictly his own; since engag'd in a Trust, that requires his All, his very Life and Person to be devoted to the Good of others.

The

The second sort of Liberality is that which consists in distributing Gifts, and making Presents: Of this indeed there is considerable Use, and a just Commendation due to it. But then this must be discreetly manag'd too; and good Care should always be taken, to what Persons, in what Proportions, and after what Manner this is done. As to the Persons, they ought to be well chosen, such whose Merits recommend them to their Bounty; such as have been serviceable to the Publick; such as have hazarded their Fortunes and their Persons, and run thro' the Dangers and Fatigues of War. These are such Persons, as none but the Unthinking, or the very Ill-natur'd, can grudge any thing to, or envy the Favour, so as to represent the Prince as partial or undistinguishing in his Liberality. Whereas, quite otherwise, great Gratuities distributed without any regard to Merit, and where there really is none, derive Shame and Odium upon the Receiver; and are entertain'd without those due Acknowledgments, and that grateful Sense, which the Favours of a Prince ought to find. Some Tyrants have been sacrific'd, and given up to the Rage and Spite of an incens'd Rabble, by those very Servants whom they had rais'd from nothing; while these Creatures of theirs have been as much diverted with their Master's Misfortunes, as any of their Enemies, and have taken this Course to ingratiate themselves with the Mob, and for securing their own Fortunes, by giving Demonstrations of the Hatred and Contempt to the Person, from whom those Fortunes were entirely deriv'd.

Nor is it less necessary, that the Proportion of a Prince's Liberality should be strictly regarded; for otherwise this may run out into such Squandering and Excess, that both the Giver and the Government may be impoverish'd and brought to ruine by it. For, to give to every body, and upon every Occasion, is to play with a losing Hand, and till all's gone. Private Men are for making their Fortunes, and it is not possible to satisfy them; they will soon grow extravagant in their Requests, if they find their Prince to be so in his Favours; and the Rule they measure by, is not Reason, but Example; not how much is fit to be granted to them, but how much hath already been granted to others. However, by this Means the publick Treasures will be exhausted; and a King be necessitated to seize other Peoples Rights, that \* so *Injustice and Oppression may heal and reimburse those Wants which Ambition and Prodigality have created.* Now, it were infinitely better to give nothing at all, than to take away from one to give to another. For after all our Kindness, the Gratitude and Affection of those that are obliged by us, never makes so deep Impressions, nor sticks half so close, as the Resentments of them that have been injur'd and plunder'd. Besides, this Profuseness is its own Destruction, for the Spring cannot run always; if you draw too fast, it will soon be drain'd dry. † *By being liberal, says St. Jerom, Man makes it impossible to be so.* For a farther Prevention whereof, as well as upon other very good Considerations, it will be convenient to spin out ones Liberality; to let it come gently, and by Degrees,

\* Quod Ambitione exhaustum, per Scelera suppleendum.

† Liberalitate Liberalitas perit.

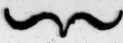


rather than to give all we intend at once. For that which is done on the sudden, and at a heat, be the thing never so considerable in itself, yet passes off, as it were insensibly, and is quickly forgotten. All things that have a grateful Relish should be contriv'd to be as slow and leisurely in the Passage as can be; that so the Palate may have time to taste them: But, on the contrary, all those Dispensations that are harsh and severe (when Occasions call for any such) should be dispatch'd with all possible Convenience, that so, like bitter Potions, they may be swallow'd at once. Thus you see, that the giving as becomes one, is an Act of Prudence, and the Exercise of Liberality to the best Advantage, requires great Address and Skill. To which Purpose *Tacitus* hath this notable Remark. \* *Those Persons* (says he) *are under a mighty Error, who know not how to distinguish between Liberality and Luxury; abundance of Men know how to squander, that do not know how to give.* And to speak the very Truth, Liberality is not a Virtue peculiar to Kings, and milder Governments only, but very consistent even with Tyranny itself. And surely the Tutors and Governors of young Princes are much in the Wrong, when they labour to possess their Minds with such strong and early Impressions of giving; of refusing nothing that is ask'd of them; of thinking nothing so well employ'd, as what they give to their Friends. This is the Jargon usual in such Cases. But either this seems to proceed from some Advantage these Instructors design to

\* *Falluntur, quibus Luxuria Specie Liberalitatis imponit, perdere multa sciunt, donare nesciunt,*

X x x 4

make

BOOK III.  make of such a Principle hereafter, or for want of due regard to the Person they address themselves to. For a too governing Notion of Liberality is of very ill Consequence in a Person, whose Fortunes are so plentiful as to supply the Expences of others, at what rate himself shall think fit. And of the two Extremes, tho' either of them are very far from good, yet a Prodigal, or a giving Prince, he that spends upon his own Vanities, or he that feeds those of his Servants and Favourites, without Discretion and due Measure, is a great deal worse than a stingy one, that keeps his Hand shut to all. And, whereas these frequent Boons are pretended of use to make Friends, and secure the Service and Affection of those who are obliged by them; there is very little or nothing of Substance in this Argument: For, immoderate and undistinguishing Liberality encourages every body to ask and to expect, and so for one Friend, makes ten Enemies, in Proportion as the Repulses must needs be more frequent than the Grants. But indeed, if it be wisely and well regulated, it is undoubtedly, as I said before, exceeding graceful and commendable in a Prince, and may prove of excellent Advantage, both to himself and to the State.

14. *Magnanimity.* Another very becoming Virtue is Magnanimity. That, I mean, more peculiarly, which consists in a Greatness of Spirit not easily to be provoked, such as despises and can pass over Injuries and Indecencies, and moderate his Anger when it begins to fly out. \* *A great Fortune and Dignity should have a*

\* *Magnum Fortunam magnus Animus decet. — Injurias & Offensiones superne despiciere. — Indignus Cæsaris irâ.*

*noble*

## Of Prudence in General.

1049

CHAP. II.

noble Mind; such as can look down upon Wrongs and Provocations, as Matters a great way below it, and not worth its Notice; and Majesty should consider that there are not many Offences which will justify a Prince's being angry. Besides, to fret and be concerned, is often interpreted for consciousness of Guilt; and that which a Man makes slight of, blows quickly over, and seldom sticks long. So says the wise Roman, \* *If Reproaches put you in a Passion, the World will look upon this as a sort of Confession: But if you disregard them, they vanish and die without doing any manner of Prejudice.* But then, if any Provocation be given, which ministers just and sufficient Cause to be angry, let those Resentments be express'd openly without labouring to conceal, or to dissemble them; that the People about him may have no reason to suspect any thing of a secret Grudge, or a mischievous Design in him. For these are Qualities for the meanest and basest sort of People, and Symptoms of a malicious, devilish and incurable Disposition. † *Pitiful Fellows and unreclaimable Wretches keep Malice in their Hearts (says Tacitus) and to feed upon a Grudge is an evident Mark of Baseness and Barbarity.* Of the two, the giving Offence and doing an ill thing is less disagreeable to the Character of a great Man, than the hating and maligning of others for doing so to him. And thus I have done with this Head of Virtue; the other Branches of it in general being not so properly distinguishing Properties, and peculiar

\* Convitia si irascere, agnita videntur; spreta exolescunt.

† Obscuri & irrevocabiles reponunt odia. Sæpe Cogitationis indicium secreto suo satiari.



Book III. Ornaments of the Royal Dignity, as Excellencies  
 lying in common between Princes and the rest  
 of Mankind.

15.  
 The third  
 Head.  
 Behaviour.

The next thing that comes under our Consideration, after the Prince's Virtue, is what they call his *Manner*, that is, his Behaviour and Way of Living; the Mein, the Port, the Address, that suit with the Majesty of a Prince; and all those profound Respects so necessary to be kept up. Upon this I shall not insist at all, only, by the way as it were, touch upon it. Now tho' Nature contribute a great deal to this in the Form and Temper of the Person, yet all that Nature does is capable of Amendment and Improvement both, by the additional Helps of Industry and Art. Under the Head we are now upon, may be reckoned the Air of his Face, the Composure of his Countenance, his Fashion and Behaviour, his Gait, his Tone, and manner of Speech, his Cloaths and Dressing. The general Rule to be observed in all these Particulars, is such a Mixture of Sweetness and Moderation, of Staidness and Gravity, as may win upon Mens Minds, and move their Affections pleasingly; such as may keep the middle Way between Familiarity and Fear, engage their Love, and yet command their Honour and Respect. His Court and Conversation are likewise worth taking Notice of. For the former, it is convenient that it should be very publick, that the Palace he dwells in should be noble and magnificent, fit for Resort and Correspondence; and if that can be well contriv'd, not far from the Middle of his Country, or, at least, the most significant Part of it; that so his Eye may command all the Quarters; and

and like the Sun in the midst of the Firmament, pierce, enlighten and warm all round about him, with the Influence of his Beams. For when a Prince resides in some very remote Corner of his Dominions, this Distance emboldens those in the contrary Extremity to behave themselves insolently, and grow tumultuous and unruly. As for his Conversation, that should be very reserved, his Confidants and familiar Friends but few, his Progresses, and other Appearances in publick but seldom; that the People may always be eager, and glad to see him: For the shewing himself often, and giving too easy Access to his Person, will mightily lessen the Majesty of his Character. \**The being always admitted to the Sight and Presence of great Persons, does mightily impair and diminish our Respect, by glutting our Curiosity, says one of our Roman Historians; and another to this Purpose: †Majesty is always most reverenc'd at a Distance: For Nature forms all our Idea's bigger than the Life; and what we are not acquainted with, is always fancy'd to be very great and stately.*

After the three things already treated of, the Knowledge of his People and Government, the Virtues of his Mind, and the Fashion and Address of the Prince; all which are inseparable from his own Person; The next Things we are led to consider, are such as are near and about his Person. And therefore in the fourth place, let us say somewhat concerning his Counsel, which, in Truth, is the main Point of all this

16.  
*The fourth  
Head.  
Counsel.*

\* Continuus Aspectus minus verendos magnos homines ipsa satiata facit. *Liv.*

† Majestati major ex longinquo Reverentia; quia omne ignotum pro magnifico est.

Head,

Book III. Head, which relates to his Politicks, and of Consequence so vast, that it is in a manner All in All. For Counsel is the Soul of any Government; the Spirit that infuses Life and Motion, Energy and Vigour into all the rest. And upon the account of this it is, that the Management of Affairs consists in Prudence; because Hands are of no Significance at all, till the Heads have cut them out their Work, and prescrib'd their Methods. It were indeed to be wish'd, That a Prince were enrich'd with so great a Stock of Prudence and Consideration, as to be able himself to govern, and dispose, and contrive every thing, without calling in Help from abroad: This is such a Sufficiency, as the first Chapter of this Book observed to be the noblest Perfection, and highest Degree of Wisdom; and no Question can be made, but that Matters would be better order'd, and more successfully dispatch'd, if it could be so. But this is an Accomplishment meerly imaginary, no Instance of it is to be found in Nature; whether it be, that Princes want the Advantage of good Temper, or good Instruction. And indeed, let Nature be never so bountiful, and Education never so proper, yet it is scarce possible to suppose, that all the Parts, and all the Improvements in the World could ever qualify one single Head for the Comprehending and Direction of such infinite Variety of Business. \* *No Prince, says Tacitus, can have a Reach so great, as to be Master of all his Concerns: No one Mind is strong enough to carry so*

\* Nequit Princeps suâ scientiâ cuncta complecti; nec unius Mens tantæ molis est capax,

great



*great a Burden.* A single Man hears and sees but very little, in Comparison; but Kings have need of Abundance of Eyes and Ears to assist and give Intelligence. Great Weights and great Undertakings can only be made light by a Multitude of Hands: And therefore it is absolutely necessary for a Prince to provide himself with good Advice, and with Persons every way capable of giving it; for, as the Case stands, and the Intrigues of Government are perplex'd, he that will take upon him to do all of his own Head, shall much sooner fix upon himself the Character of Pride and Conceitedness, than gain the Reputation of Wisdom. A Prince then, of all Men, hath most need of faithful Friends, and diligent Servants, who may assist him in his Difficulties, and *ease him of part of his* Liv. *Cares.* These are the real, the most valuable Treasures of a King, and the most useful Instruments to the Publick: And therefore the first and great Care must be, to make a wise Choice of Assistants, and employ the utmost Application, and bend all one's Judgment to have such as are excellent and proper for a Post of such vast Importance. Now of these Assistants, there are two sorts; One that contribute their Advice, and project only; and these employ their Wit, and their Tongue; and are, in strict Propriety of Speech, Counsellors; the other are concerned in the executive Part; they lend us their Hands, and their Pains, and these are more properly stiled Officers. Of these the former sort are in much the more honourable Character: For thus two great Philosophers have declared their Opinion, that it is a most sacred and divine Accomplishment, to consider judiciously and be able to advise well. Now

Xenoph.

Plato.

Aristot.

Book III.

17.

Qualifications of Counselors.

Now in Persons thus to be chosen and employed, several Qualifications are necessary: As, first of all, It is necessary to choose such as are faithful, and fit to be trusted; that is, in one Word, Men of Virtue and good Principles. \* *I take for granted (says Pliny) that the better Man any one is, the more staunch and true he is, and more safe to be depended upon.* Secondly, They must be Persons of Ability, and proper for this Office, not only in regard of their Knowledge and Learning in general, but upon the account of their Skill in Politics, and that express Form of Government in particular; such as have been used and try'd before, and have come off with Honour and Success, versed in Business, and accustomed to Difficulties: For Hardships and Adversities are the most useful and improving Lessons. † *Fortune, says one, in the room of many Advantages which she hath torn from me, hath given me the Faculty of Advice and Persuasion.* And in one Word, They must be wise and discreet, moderately quick, not too sprightly and sharp; for such Men will be always projecting. And ‡ *Men of Fire are more for Change than steady Management.* Now in order to these Qualifications, it is necessary that they should be Men of ripe Years, to give them Staidness, Experience, and Consideration; nay, I may add, to inspire them with Caution too; for it is one of the many Unhappineffes attending Youth, that

\* Optimum quemque fidelissimum puto.

† Mihi Fortuna multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi. *Mithr. in Salust.*

‡ Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiora ingenia illa ignea. *Curtius.*

Persons then are easily imposed upon; of which the Tenderneſs and Softneſs of their Brain may perhaps be one Reason, as that may dispose them the more easily to receive any Impreſſion, and conſequently to Credulity and Eaſineſs of Temper. It is for the Convenience of a Prince to have notable Men of all ſorts about him; both thoſe who are called ſo upon the account of their Wiſdom, and thoſe that excel in Subtilty and Cunning. The former indeed ought to be more numerous, and are more eſpecially requiſite, becauſe they are more for the Honour of their Maſter, and of more conſtant Uſe; for theſe are the Managers of all regular and ordinary Proceedings. The Men of Art are for Caſes of Neceſſity and extraordinary Emergencies, to help at a Pinch, and to countermine a Danger.

A third Qualification neceſſary for Counſellors, is Openneſs, and Freedom, and Courage in all their Behaviour, when conſulted with. They muſt uſe their utmoſt Care, that all their Propoſals be for the Honour and Advantage of their Prince; and, when once they have ſecured this Point, that the Advice be wiſe and good, all Flattery and Diſguiſe ſhould be laid aſide; all Equivocations, and Reſervations, and Craftineſs of Expreſſion deteſted and deſpiſed, by which they may ſeem to aim at ingratiating themſelves, or to contrive that what they ſay may be acceptable to their Maſter. Theſe are the Men *Tacitus* deſcribes, who accommodate all their Language as they ſee occaſion, and do \* *not ſo properly diſcourſe with their Prince, as with his*

\* *Ne cum Fortunâ potius Principis loquantur, quam cum ipſo.*



*present Inclinations and Circumstances.* They consider him as a great Man, as one able to make their Fortunes; they observe what he would do, not what is best and fittest for him to do. Whereas indeed all these Regards ought to be utterly banished their Thoughts; they should have a constant Eye upon the Sacredness of their Office, and the Importance of the Trust reposed in them; and, looking no farther than the Reason, and Justice, and Convenience of the Thing, speak the Truth, and spare not: For however harsh and distastful this Liberty, and Openness, and honest Blunt-dealing may be at the present to those Persons, whose Opinion and Inclinations it happens to cross; yet there will soon come a Time, when it will obtain Respect and Esteem. \* *Opposition is offensive just at the Instant; but upon cooler Thoughts, the very Persons you opposed will commend and admire your Plain-dealing.* A Man should likewise take Care to be consistent with himself, firm to his Principle, without veering and wheeling about perpetually, as oft as other People's Humours shift into a fresh Quarter. But as he must not be changeable and obsequious in a base Compliance with the Passions or Pleasures of others, so neither must he be stiff and peremptory in his own Opinions. There is always a Decency to be observed, and great Difference to be made, between Constancy and Contradiction. For Opiniatrety and Fierceness confounds all manner of Deliberation; and therefore I am far from desiring my good Counsellor to be inflexible; as knowing very well, that hearkening to other

\* In praesentia quibus resistis, offendis: deinde illis suscipitur laudaturque.

Men's

Men's Reasons, and changing our own Opinions BOOK III upon them, is so far from deserving the Reproach of Rashness or Inconstancy, that it ought rather to be look'd upon as a Testimony of Modesty and Ingenuity, and great Prudence; For \* *although the wise Man always walks in the same Way, and by the same Rule, yet he does not always go the same Pace, nor tread in the same Steps; Change he does not then, so properly, as accommodate and mend himself; Like the skilful Sailor, who plies to every Wind, and whose Excellency lies in trimming the Sails that Way that the Gale blows freshest. Thus a Man must oftentimes go about to make the Port he designs, when there is no coming at it by a straight Course: And it shews the Dexterity and Address of a Counsellor, to be able to change his Methods, when those which were first chosen are either disapproved, or by some Accident rendred useles and ineffectual.*

Another necessary Accomplishment for this Post, is the making a Conscience of revealing any Debates he shall be privy to. For Silence and Secrecy are exceeding necessary in the Management of all publick Affairs: Insomuch that a great Author hath pronounced it impossible for that Man to manage any Matter of Consequence, who is not so much Master of himself as to keep his own Counsel. † For how should he support the weight of publick Business, to whom even Silence is a Burden! But upon this Occasion, the concealing

\* Non semper it uno gradu, sed unâ viâ : non se mutat, sed aptat.

† Res magnæ sustinere nequeunt ab eo, cui tacere grave est.

CHAP. II. what one knows is not sufficient; I must likewise caution him against knowing too much. A curious and inquisitive Temper, which loves to be busy, and inform it self of other People's Actions and Concerns, is no commendable Quality in any case; but to pry into the Affairs of Princes, and value one's self upon knowing their Secrets, is as dangerous as it is unmannerly: And as *Tacitus* hath well observed, \* Nothing is more hazardous, nothing more unfit for us, than officiously to dive, and be bold with their retired Thoughts and Intentions. And therefore, whatever a Man knows of this kind, should come freely and without his seeking; nay, I make no Difficulty to affirm, that it is commendable in a Man to decline the Opportunities of having such things imparted to him, and to know as little of them as possibly he can. This argues Reverence and Modesty, prevents all Jealousy, and suits the Distance between a Prince and his Subjects.

Thus I have given my Reader a short Account of those good Conditions which seem necessary for the qualifying Men to be Counsellors of State. And by these he will be able to tell himself, what are those ill Qualities which incapacitate a Man for such a Trust. That a Prince, in making his Choice, should be sure to reject all such as are of confident, assuming, presumptuous Tempers; because these Vices make Men hot and arrogant in Debates, positive and bold in their own Sense: And a wise Man, quite contrary, will be content to allow second and third Thoughts; to examine

\* *Exquirere abditos Principis sensus, illicitum & anceps. Tacitus.*



every thing over and over. It is the Character of Book III.

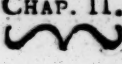
such a one to suspect himself, to be jealous of the Consequence, fearful in advising and resolving, that so he may afterwards be more vigorous and assured, when he comes to Execution. \* *For the Mind that knoweth how to be afraid, and undertakes warily, will act more securely, and go upon surer Grounds.* Fools, quite contrary, are eager and assured, blind and bold in Debate; but when they come to Action, cowardly and tame. † Advice given with Heat and Confidence, looks fair and gay at first sight; but the Execution of it is hard and desperate, and the Event full of Grief and Disappointment. Next to this presumptuous Vanity and Heat, Passion is improper for such Ministers of State; all Anger and Envy, Hatred and Spite, Avarice and Ambition, all selfish Narrowness of Spirit, and private Interest; for these are all of them Corrupters of the best Sense, the very Bane of all sound Judgment; Integrity, and faithful Discharge of a publick Character, cannot dwell in the same Breast with these personal Piques, and private Affections. ‡ *Private Advantage ever did, and ever will, obstruct and confound publick Counsels; and each single Man's Profit is that which poisons all good Sense, and kind Inclination to the common Good.*

One Thing more remains absolutely necessary to be avoided, and that is Precipitation; an irreconci-

\* Nam Animus vereri qui scit, scit tuto aggredi.

† Consilia calida & audacia primâ specie læta sunt, tractatu clara, eventu tristia.

‡ Privatæ res semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis; pessimum veri effectus & judicii venenum sua cuique Utilitas.

CHAP. II.  lable Enemy to Prudence and good Counsel, and fit for nothing but to put Men upon doing amiss, and then being ashamed and unfortunate upon that Account. And thus much shall suffice, at present, for a description of those Qualities which ought to concur, and the Vices and Defects which must be declin'd, in order to the accomplishing Men for Counsellors of State.

17. Now, such as these it is the Prince's Business to employ; and those are the Rules by which his Choice ought to be directed. For his own personal Knowledge of Persons so qualified, will be the greatest Security he can have; but if he be not capable of making the Distinction himself, nor can with Safety rely upon his own Judgment in the Case, then Reputation and common Fame is what he must be contented with. And upon such Occasions a general Character seldom leads us into great Mistakes; for which Reason one desir'd his Prince, *That he would look upon him, and his Brethren in Office, to be such as the World esteem'd them.* For Hypocrisy is but a particular Thing, and of a very limited Extent. \* *Single Men may deceive, and be deceived; but never did any Man deceive all the World, nor was ever any Man mistaken in all the World.* Great Care should be taken, upon this Occasion, that a Prince do not trust himself with Flatterers and fawning Parasites, with particular Favourites, Court-Officers, and mercenary Wretches, whose Confidence is a Reproach to their Master; and will be his Ruin, when they can have a good Price for betraying him. For after all, the Cabal

\* Nam singuli decipere & decipi possunt; nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt.

and the Cabinet is the Foundation of most Monarchs undoing: We see it not till it comes upon the open Stage; but there it begun, and from thence it moves and works under Ground, long before the World can discern it. Now, when a Prince hath made this Choice, and found Persons for his Purpose, the next Thing incumbent upon him is to make a wise Use of them. And that is to be done by consulting them early, and in a Season proper for Deliberation; not driving all off till the very Instant of Action, when the Time is too short for Debate and cool Consideration; nor, on the other hand, Trifling and losing Time in hearing their tedious Disputes, when his Affairs require a speedy Resolution. Again, This Advice of theirs must be attended to with a judicious Reserve; he must not give himself blindly up to it, and follow their Determinations, right or wrong, as that very weak Emperor *Claudius* is said to have done: And he must likewise temper this Discretion with Moderation and Gentleness, without being too stiff and inflexible in his own Sense; since, generally speaking, that Remark of the wise *Marcus Antoninus* holds good, who says it is better for one Man to come over, and to comply with the Advice of a great many good Friends, than that all their Opinions should be set aside, and they forced to truckle to his single arbitrary Pleasure. I cannot but apprehend it of great Advantage in this Case, to keep a Man's self pretty loose, and use one's Counsellors with a sort of Authority mix'd with Indifference. My Meaning is, Not immediately to reward Men for their good Counsel, because such present Pay will be a Temptation to ill Men, to thrust them-



CHAP. II. selves forward in advising; and so that which is really bad, will be put upon him in hopes of a Reward. Nor, on the other hand, to discountenance or use Men roughly for counselling amiss; because this will create a Shiness in all about him, and no Body will dare to advise freely, if the delivering their Opinion shall expose them to Danger and Disgrace. And besides, the Judgment of good and bad Counsel is very uncertain, because it usually proceeds upon the Issue: Whereas the most injudicious Counsels have often succeeded as well, or better than the wisest, by a strange over-ruling Power of Providence, thus asserting its Government of us, and all our Affairs here below. And again, It ought to be remembred, that they who give the best, that is, the safest and most prosperous Counsel, are not, upon that Account, to be concluded our faithfullest Friends, nor best affected to our Interest; for many times they who love us best, may be mistaken in their Measures; and they who wish us no Good, may yet put us in the way of a great deal. Nor ought a Prince to resent Freedom and Plainness upon these Occasions: For this, in all Reason, ought rather to be acceptable; and a wise Man will keep a jealous Eye upon flattering and timorous Fellows, such as make it their Business to sooth his Humours, and had rather see him perish by false Measures, than disgust him to his own Advantage. And sure, if there be a miserable Creature upon Earth, it is that Prince, to whom no Body about him dares tell the Truth; he that must live by the Help of other Peoples Senses, and yet all who see and hear for him, are under a Necessity of dissembling and disguising in their own Defence,

## Of Prudence in General.

1063

Book III.

Defence, and dare shew him nothing as it really is. A Man, \* *whose Ears, as Tacitus expresses it, are so odly contriv'd, that all Sounds are harsh and grating, which tell profitable Truths; and they never think themselves entertain'd, but with such pleasing Words as are sure to do Mischief.* The last Caution necessary for the making a good use of proper Counsellors, is, To conceal his own Opinion, and not determine publickly what he approves most, or what he resolves to do; for when all is done, Secrecy is the very Life and Soul of Counsel; and † *That Advice is always best, which your Enemy knows nothing of, till the Execution declares what it was.*

As for the Officers, which come now to be next consider'd; by these I mean such as serve the Prince and the Government in some publick Trust. And they ought to be made Choice of with great Discretion; Persons of Honour and Virtue, well descended, and whose Families are of Quality and Reputation in the World. It is reasonable to believe, That Men of this Character will approve themselves best in their respective Stations; and that of Birth particularly is so considerable a Qualification, that it is by no means for the Honour of a Prince, or the Decency of his Court, that People of mean Extract should be admitted near his Person, and commissioned to preside over others, except some very great and remarkable Merit, give them a just and visible

16.  
Officers.

\* Cujus Aures ita formatæ sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia; & nisi jucundum & læsurum recipiant.

† Nulla meliora consilia, quam quæ ignoraverit adversarius antequam fierent.

Y y y 4

Presc.

Preference, and make amends for the want of Quality and Descent. But Men of infamous Lives, false and base, Men of no Principles, or of such as are dangerous and worse than none; in short, Men under Circumstances, which either fix an odious Character, such as the World have reason to hate, or to despise, to be ashamed of, or to suspect, should not, upon any Terms, be admitted to any Office or Trust. After these Conditions, as to their Morals, we must not forget, that as great a Regard is due to their Understandings. And that, not only to see that they be Men of Parts and Judgment in general, but that each Person be dispos'd of to such an Employment, as best agrees with his own Genius and Attainments in particular. For some are naturally fittest for Military, and others for Civil Trusts. Some have thought it a general good Rule for Officers of all sorts, to choose Men of a mild and gentle Disposition, and moderate Character; for your violent and topping Spirits, that are full of themselves, and cannot be prevail'd upon to yield to any, or quit the least Punctilio, commonly speaking, are not at all fit for Business. \* Let the Persons you employ be therefore a Match for their Business, and able to deal with it; but not too much above, and able to play with it; Men that know how to give and take their Due, but not such as will sacrifice the Publick to a nice Point of Honour, and their own unseasonable Vanity.

\* Ut pares negotiis, neque supra, sint recti, non eredi.



Next after Counsel, we may very well be allowed to place Treasures; for certainly these must be confest a very great Point; a useful, necessary, and powerful Provision. If Advice be the Head that sees and directs, Money is the Nerves, the Hands, the Feet of the State, by which it moves and acts, and is strongly knit together. For when all is done, there is no Sword cuts deep, nor makes its own Way through, like that with a silver Edge. No Master is so absolute in his Commands, so readily obey'd; no Orator so eloquent; no Persuasive so winning upon the Wills and Affections of Men; no Conqueror so successful, or so great a Gainer by Storms, and Sieges, and Force of Arms, as a good Purse. This is serv'd with Zeal, and obeyed without Grudging; this gets Possession of Hearts, and draws the World after it; this takes Towns and Castles, without the Expence of Blood, or Time, or Hazard. And therefore a wise Prince will always think himself oblig'd to take care, that his Treasury be in good Condition; and that he never be disabled in this so very necessary, so vital a Part of his Government. Now, the Art and the Care of effecting and securing this, consists in three Particulars. The first whereof concerns the providing good Funds; the second in employing the Money arising from them to the best Advantage; and the third in keeping a constant Reserve, that he may never be destitute of a necessary Supply, upon any sudden Accident, or pressing Oecasion. And in all these Cases, there are two Things, which the Prince must by all means look upon himself bound to avoid; which are Injustice, and sordid Frugality; for how necessary and advantageous so-

ever

Book III.

20.  
The fifth  
Head,  
Treasure.

CHAP. II. ever the Observation of these Rules may be, yet he must never purchase this Convenience at so dear a Rate, as the Invasion of other Men's Rights, or the Loss of his own Honour.

21. For the first of these, which relates to laying the Foundation as it were, and amassing together a sufficient Treasure, there are several Methods of doing it. Many Springs, which, like so many little Streams, contribute to the filling up this common Cistern; but, tho' all of them pour in some,

Funds.

I.

yet they do not all supply the same Proportion, nor are they all perpetual, or equally to be depended upon. For Instance, One Fund is the Crown Lands and Demesnes, and other standing Revenues appointed to the Use of the Prince, for the Support of his Grandeur and Government. And these ought to be husbanded to the best Advantage, and kept up to their old Rents, and put into good Hands: They should by no means be alienated without some very urgent Exigency require it; but look'd upon as things sacred, and such as in their own Nature are not transferrable to any other Owner. Another

II.

is, the Conquests made upon Enemies, which should be so ordered, as to turn to good Account; and not squandered, and prodigally wasted, because they are a sort of additional Wealth, and when they are gone, the Prince is but where he was before. The Power of old *Rome* is in great Measure owing to their good Management in this Point: They always took Care to bring in vast Sums, not only to pay the Charge of the War, but to enrich and swell their Exchequers with the Wealth transferred thither from the Towns they took, and the Countries they vanquished. This, their Historians

*Livy* tells us, was the Practice of their bravest and most renown'd Generals, *Camillus*, *Flaminius*, *Æmilius Paulus*, the *Scipio's*, *Lucullus*, and *Cæsar*: And not only so, but after this first drawing over their present Treasures, they constantly imposed a yearly Stipend to be paid, either by the Natives left upon their own Soil, under these, and certain other Conditions; or by those Colonies of *Romans*, whom they transplanted thither. But still every Conquest brought some substantial Advantage to the Commonwealth, and was more than an empty Name, and the meer Glory of the Thing. The Presents, Free-Gifts, Pensions, Donations, and Grants, Tributes, Taxes, arising either from Friends, or Allies, or Subjects Legacies, and Bequests of the Dead, Deeds of Gift from Owners, yet surviving, or any other manner of Conveyance: Tolls and Imposts, Customs upon Goods imported or exported, Commodities foreign or domestick, Duties upon Docks and Havens, Ports and Rivers; which hath been a general and very antient Method of raising Money, as well upon Strangers as Natives; and a very just, lawful and beneficial Method no doubt it is, when limited with these Conditions; that no Provisions or other Goods, that are Necessaries of Life, shall be transported, so as to impoverish the Country, and reduce the Subject to Streights; nor any raw Wares; but Materials of home-growth should be likewise wrought up and finish'd at home; to find the Subjects Employment, and keep the poor and labouring People at Work, upon their own Manufacture; that so the Profit and Wages, as well as the Stuff, might centre and circulate among Natives; and the Growth of one Nation

not

III.

IV.



not to be transferr'd to the enriching of another. But now, when these Commodities are wrought and dress'd, there is good reason for carrying them to foreign Markets; as it is likewise Policy to import all the raw and unwrought Commodities they can, and to prohibit all foreign and finish'd Manufactures; because in all these Cases there is greater Encouragement, and Opportunity given for Labour. And it is also highly reasonable in all Matters of Traffick, that a heavier Imposition should be laid upon Strangers who trade among us, than the natural Subjects of the same Country. For all foreign Impositions bring large Sums in the Treasury, and are a great Ease to the Subject, which is a Consideration always to be regarded; and for that Reason the Customs which are laid upon all such Necessaries of Life, as are imported from abroad, should be moderated, and brought as low as possibly they can. These four Methods already mention'd, are not only allowable, and convenient, but strictly Just, and Equitable; Honourable and Fair. The fifth, which, I confess, is not altogether so agreeable to Decency, and the Dignity of a Prince, is that of Trade, which is carried on for the Profit of the Sovereign by means of his Factors, and hath several Methods of turning to Account, which are some less, and some more liable to Scandal; but the most Infamous, and most Destructive of all, is the setting to sale Offices and Honours, Preferments and Places of Trust. There is indeed a Course not yet mention'd, which I think will come within the Notion of Trade; and therefore I choose to name it under this Head, for the sake of the Resemblance it bears to the Subject now

in Hand. This hath no great Matter of In-<sup>Book III.</sup>  
decency in it, and hath the Example of several very  
wise and eminent Princes to give it Countenance;  
it is the letting out the publick Money in Bank,  
upon a moderate Interest (as five in the Hundred  
Profit, for Instance) and securing the Principal, ei-  
ther by an Equivalent in Pawns, or Mortgages, or  
else such personal Security, as is sufficient and of  
unquestionable Credit. And these Loans are of  
great Advantage in three Respects: For first, they  
add greatly to the Wealth of any Government, by  
taking care, that it shall always turn to fresh Ac-  
count, and no part of it ever lie dead. Then se-  
condly, it is a mighty Convenience to private Men,  
who by this means are sure of a Fund to trade up-  
on; and cannot fail of being furnished in any Pro-  
portion which their Occasions shall require, or  
which they can find such Security as is fit to be  
accepted for. But the third and greatest Benefit  
of all is, that it keeps this Money out of the Paws  
of Sharpers, and saves that to the publick Use,  
which would otherwise become a Prize to the Im-  
portunity, and nauseous Flattery of hungry Courti-  
ers, and be thus extorted from the good Nature  
of a King, wearied into giving. And upon this  
last Consideration singly, to save the Trouble of  
being importun'd, and the Difficulties of denying:  
Some Princes have found it adviseable to lend out  
their ready Cash without any Interest to be paid  
upon it; purely for the sake of securing the prime  
Sum, which they took care to do by binding the  
Debtor in a Penalty of paying double, if he were  
not punctual to his Day. The sixth and last Me-  
thod is that of Loans and Subsidies extraordinary.  
levied

CHAP. II.

levied upon the Subject; and this should be a Reserve for times of Necessity, a Remedy always to be made use of with Reluctancy, and such as is properly apply'd, when other stated Methods fall short, and the Exigence of Affairs calls for a larger Supply than the former Particulars can furnish out. In the Circumstances of this Kind, no doubt can be made of the Justice of the thing: But then to make this still more easy and gentle to the Subject, it is not only requisite, that the Necessity of such Supplies be evident, and the publick Safety highly concern'd in them, but these following Conditions should likewise concur to the softning them.

- I. First, that whatever Moneys are advanced upon Loans for the serving a present Occasion, should be afterwards punctually and honestly paid back again, as soon as the Difficulty is over, and the Occasion serv'd. This we find practis'd by the Commonwealth of *Rome*, when driven to Extremities by *Hannibal*. And at this rate the Prince will never want Money; for while the Exchequer keeps Touch and Credit, private Men will be pleas'd, nay proud to lend; not only because they think their Cash deposited in safe Hands, and can depend upon their own again with Advantage; but for the Honour and Reputation of having assisted the Publick, and served their Prince in a time of Distress. And this to a generous Man is a valuable, and will always be a powerful Consideration, where the Hazard and
- II. Fears of a Loss do not check it. But secondly, if the publick Stock be drawn so low, that the Debt cannot be satisfied from thence, and some fresh extraordinary Imposition be necessary, this should by all means be adjusted and charged, with the Consent



sent of the Subjects, who are to contribute toward it; the present Defects of the Treasury fairly stated, the Occasion that exhausted it fully represented, and the People made truly sensible of the Necessity they are under; so pressing upon them that Passage of our Blessed Saviour, the Gracious King of Kings, *The Lord hath need of them*; for thus He, in marvellous Condescension, was pleas'd to express himself. And in such Circumstances, if the Case require it, and the Satisfaction of the People can be effectually consulted upon those Terms, it may be very adviseable to lay an Account of the Receipts and Expences before them. Persuasion and fair Means are always best employ'd in Matters of this Nature; and to be driven to use Power and Constraint, is the last Unhappiness that can happen to a Governor. *Themistocles* was certainly in the right, when he thought it more for the Honour of a Ruler \* *to gain his Point by Request and Expostulation, than by Commands*. And, tho' it be true, that every Word of a King is full of Power and Force; and what he asks, his Character makes in effect a Command; yet still it is more for the Advantage of the Publick, and the Continuance of a mutual Affection and good Understanding between Prince and People, that this kind of Supply should express the Form of a free Gift; that the Subjects should express their Sense of the publick Necessities; and desire the Prince to accept what Relief they are capable of contributing toward it; at least, it is fit, that these extraordinary Taxes should be limited to a certain Term, that they do not pass into constant Payments, Things of Course and Continuance,

\* *Impetrare melius est quam imperare.*

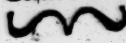
and

- CHAP. II. and that the Subjects never be prescribed to in these Cases, without their own Approbation and Consent. A third Course to qualify these Impositions, would be, to lay them not upon Persons, but Estates; that Men may pay for what they have, and not for what they are. For a Poll-Tax hath every where been looked upon as the most odious of any; it being indeed by no means just that all should be levelled, where Fortune hath made so vast a Difference; and while the Men of Wealth, and Honour, and noble Birth, pay little or nothing, that the greatest part of the Duty should rise upon poor Country People, who work hard for their Living. But especially, should all possible Care be taken in the fourth Place, that such Subsidies should be levy'd fairly and equally. For the being rack'd and screw'd above one's Proportion, is a very grating and intolerable Thing, and breeds more Murmuring and Contention than the Charge itself. Now in order to bring every body in, to bear a Part in this common Burden, it will be convenient to tax such Provisions with it as all Mankind have Occasion for, and must make use of: Such as Salt, and Drink, and the like; for thus the Excise will be universal; and every Member of the publick Body will be inexcusably obliged to contribute something to the publick Necessity. Besides these indeed there may, and it is but reasonable there should, be constant and heavy Incumbrances laid upon such Commodities, whether Foreign or Domestick, as are vicious in their use, and tend only to debauch the Subject; and thus all those things manifestly do, which serve only for Luxury and vain Pomp; such as are purchased at dear Rates, meerly out of extravagant Humour,

Humour, or useleſs Curioſity; all ſuperfluous State BOOK III.  
in Diet; Cloaths, Equipage, the Inſtruments of  
Pleaſure, Corrupters of Manners, and whatever  
contributes to a licentious Way of Living. And  
the loading ſuch things with ſuch Impoſitions as  
ſhall make them yet more expenſive, may poſſibly  
prove the beſt Method to diſcourage the uſe of  
them. For Men in the miſt of Luxury, will  
ſometimes be content to ſave their Purſes, and ab-  
ſtain upon a Conſideration of Tenderneſs in that  
reſpect; when their Conſciences would be ſo far  
from being reſtrain'd by Laws, that a poſitive Pro-  
hibition would rather ſet a ſharper Edge upon their  
Appetite, and make them but ſo much more im-  
patient and eager, to come at theſe things.

The ſecond Branch of this Science; relating to  
the publick Treasures; is the taking good Care  
that they be well employ'd. And to this Purpoſe  
I will here lay down a ſhort Account of the ſeve-  
ral Heads of Expence, upon which a Prince muſt  
neceſſarily, and ought in Duty to make uſe of them.  
Such are, the Subſiſtence and honourable Salaries  
of the Houſhold, the Pay of the Soldiers, the Wa- The uſing  
the Trea-  
ſury well.  
ges of Officers of all ſorts; the juſt Rewards of ſuch  
as by their good Services have merited of the Pub-  
lick; the Penſions and charitable Relief extended  
to thoſe who come well recommended, and are pro-  
per Objects of his royal Bounty and Compaſſion.  
Theſe five are conſtant and unavoidable Occaſions.  
But then there are others too, very uſeful and fitting,  
tho' not ſo abſolutely and always neceſſary, ſuch as  
the Reparation of old decay'd Towns, ſtrengthen-  
ing the Frontiers of his Country, amending the  
Highways, and making Roads as direct and conve-  
nient



CHAP. II.  nient as the Condition of the Place will bear; keeping up Bridges, and all other necessary Accommodations for Travellers; founding Colleges for the Study and Improvement of Learning, and Religion, and Virtue; building and endowing Hospitals for distressed and disabled People, and erecting publick Halls, and other Structures, that are for the Honour and Service of the State. These sorts of Repairs, and Fortifications, and Foundations, are of excellent Use and Advantage, besides the Profit which immediately redounds to the State in general by their Means: For by promoting such Designs, Art is encouraged and improved, Workmen are kept in Employment, the People are highly contented and pleased, and a great part of that grudging and repining, usual to the Commonality, is prevented and cured, when they see their Taxes converted to so good Uses, and the Benefit comes back to them again: But especially these two great Banes of any Common-wealth are by this means utterly banished, the Plague of Idleness, and the Scandal of Poverty and Beggary. Whereas on the contrary, the consuming the publick Wealth in extravagant Gifts to some particular Favourites, in stately, but unnecessary, Buildings, or in other vain Expences, for which there is no need, and whereof there can be no use, draws a general Odium and Indignation. For the Subjects cannot bear to think that so many Thousands should be stripped, to cloath and make one Man fine; that another should strut and look big with their Money; and that the great Houses should be built with their Blood, and the Sweat of their Brows: For such as these are the grumbling Terms, in which the Vulgar, when provoked

## Of Prudence in Government. 1075

provoked to Discontent, murmur out their Resentments; and nothing touches them so near as Money, and a Notion of Extravagance and Wastfulness in the Disposal of their Taxes.

The third and last Part of this Advice consists in taking care to have a good Supply in reserve for any extraordinary Exigence that may happen: That so, in Cases of Necessity, a Prince may not be driven to sudden and unjust Remedies, nor use Violence upon others to help himself. This Store thus laid up, and frugally managed for the Prince to draw out as he sees fit, is the common Notion of the Exchequer. Now in the Management of this Article, there are two Extremes which must be both avoided, because each of them is of very dangerous Consequence to the Person that falls into it. The one is, that of immoderate Greediness in amassing prodigious Sums; for such Treasures, tho' got by Methods never so just and honourable, are not always the most for a Prince's Security, when they are out of measure. They really very often involve him in Wars, either by putting him upon oppressing and invading his weaker Neighbours, in Confidence of his own Strength, and that the longest Purse will be sure to carry it at last; or else they are a Bait to some Enemy to fall upon him. And therefore it is much more for the Safety and Advantage, as well as for the Honour of a King, to convert them to such uses as have been already mention'd, than to let them grow exorbitantly great upon his Hand, and so either tempt the Owner to Insolence, or expose him for a Prey to those who want such Prize. The other Extreme is spending all, and keeping nothing to help at a Pinch; and

Z z z z

this

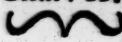
BOOK III.

23.

III.

Savin

1076 *Of Prudence in Government.*

CHAP. II.  this is worse than the former; for such a Government stands naked and defenceless, and like a foolish Gamester, plays away his last Stake. And therefore all wise Governors take care not to fall into this desperate Condition. The greatest Treasures that History informs us of in any Monarchy heretofore, were those of *Darius* the last King of *Persia*, in whose Exchequer, *Alexander the Great*, at the Conquest of his Country, is said to have found Four-score Millions of Gold. That of *Tiberius* amounted to Sixty Seven Millions. *Trajan* had Five and Fifty Millions laid up in *Egypt*. But that of *David* exceeds all the rest; for (which is a thing almost incredible, in so small, and, in Comparison, despicable a Dominion as that of *Judea*) \* the Holy Scripture itself takes notice, that he had amassed together a Hundred and Twenty Millions.

Now the Method in use heretofore, for preserving these great Treasures from being spent and squander'd away profusely, or being stoln, and secretly broke in upon, was to melt them down into large massy Ingots or Balls, as the *Persians* and *Romans*

\* What publick Treasure, for civil Uses, this Author refers to, I do not know, for want of his marginal Quotations, in which he is frequently defective; but the Sum reserved for building the Temple, is yet infinitely more amazing: That in the XXII of 1 *Chron.* v. 14, is said to be a Hundred Thousand Talents of Gold; which at the Rate of four Pound an Ounce, would be valued among us at Seventy Five Millions Sterling; and a Thousand Thousand Talents in Silver, which at five Shillings *per* Ounce, comes to 187,500,000*l.* computing Seven Hundred and Fifty Ounces of Metal to each Talent. And besides all this, 'tis said the Brass and Iron were unmeasurably great, as also the Stores of Timber and Stone left *Solomon* to begin with.

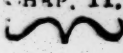
were



were wont to do ; or else to lay them up in the Temples of their Gods, as the securest and most sacred Repository, as the *Grecians* frequently did in the Temple of *Apollo*. Though this did not always succeed to their Expectation ; for Covetousness often broke through the most superstitious Reverence for their Deities, and plunder'd their very Gods themselves, in despite and defiance of all their imaginary Thunder. Thus also the *Romans* held their Office of Exchequer in the Temple of *Saturn*. But that, which of all others seems to be not only the safest, but the most gainful Course, is what I mentioned before, of lending out these Sums to private Men at a moderate Interest, upon good Pawns, or sufficient Security, real or personal. Again, another advisable Expedient for preserving the publick Treasures from Encroachment and Dishonesty, is to take good care in disposing of the Offices concerned about them. For sure the Management of such a Trust is of too great Importance to be set to sale ; and no Fidelity can be expected, where Men are out of Pocket, and must be reimbursed themselves at the publick Expence : Nor should Men of mean Quality, vulgar and mechanick People, be admitted to purchase them ; but they ought in all reason to be put into the Hands of Men of Birth and Fortunes, such as may be supposed to act upon Principles of Honour, and whose Circumstances set them above any violent Temptations of sordid or foul Dealing : And in this particular the old *Romans* set us a good Pattern, who entred the young Gentlemen of their best Families in *Rome* in this kind of Business : They look'd upon it as the noblest Education ; and from this first setting out,

Z z z 3

their

CHAP. II.  their greatest Men were raised by degrees to the highest Honours, and most important Offices in the Common-wealth.

24.  
The sixth  
Head.  
Military  
Force.

His Army, I think, may very fitly be placed after the Council, and the Treasury of a Prince; for Nature itself hath put that Precedence out of dispute, by making it impossible for Forces, either to be well raised, or well ordered, and used successfully, and to good Purpose; or indeed so much as to subsist, when they are raised without the Support and Direction of those two former Provisions. Now a military Force is absolutely necessary for a Prince, to be a Terror to his Enemies, a Guard and Security to his Person and Government: And for any Man in a Throne to think of sitting quiet there any considerable time, without some Number of Forces, is the fondest Imagination in the World. There is never any perfect Security between the Weak and the Strong; and no State was ever yet so composed, as to be quite void of turbulent Spirits, and free from Dangers and Disturbances, both at home and abroad. Now this Power is either a constant determinate Number, such as are always in pay, the ordinary standing Force; or else it is additional and extraordinary, levied in time of War, and of no longer continuance than the Occasion of raising it. The ordinary standing Forces are confin'd to Persons and Places. The Persons are of two sorts. There are the King's Guards, such as always attend his Person, and are of use, not only as they contribute to the Safety and Preservation of his royal Life; but likewise as they add to his Pomp and Grandeur, in making all his Appearances more august and venerable, and every way becoming so sublime

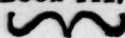
sublime a Character. For that so mighty celebrated Saying of *Agefilaus*, That a Prince might always be safe without any Guard at all, provided he commanded as he ought, and used his Subjects as an affectionate and wise Father would deal by his Children. This Aphorism, I say, is far from being always true; and he were a Mad-man, who at this time of Day would venture to make the Experiment, and depend upon the best and gentlest Treatment for his Security. For alas! the Wickedness of the World is not so easily won upon; and Men are too ill-natur'd to be charm'd into Gratitude, and Returns of Duty, by all the Tenderneſs, and Affection, and Desert in the World.

Besides these Guards, it is necessary there should be standing Troops kept in constant Pay, and perfectly well-disciplin'd, which may be ready upon any sudden Accident that shall require their Use and Assistance; for it would be extremely provident to have no Preparations of this Kind, and drive off the raising of Men, and qualifying them for Service, till the very Instant that Necessity calls for them.

As for the Places, in which such Forces are disposed, they are properly the Forts and Castles upon the Frontiers, which ought constantly to be well mann'd, and provided with Arms and Ammunition, to prevent Surprize, and Incursions from abroad: Instead of which, the Antients heretofore, and some at this Day, choose rather to transplant the Foreigners and former Inhabitants, and to people all such Towns with new and populous Colonies of their own, as they enlarge their Borders by fresh Conquests.



The extraordinary Forces consist of formed Armies, which a Prince finds himself oblig'd to raise, and make a plentiful Provision of in time of War. Now, what Methods he ought to govern himself by in this Respect, for the undertaking any Military Enterprize, is a Consideration relating to the second Branch of this politick Prudence; that of Action, I mean, which will be treated of in the following Chapter, and falls not within this first, which is only the provisionary Part, and such as is requisite by way of a Preparatory to the other. All therefore that I shall say upon this Subject at present, is only, That a wise Prince will always take Care, besides his own Guards, to have a competent number of Men in actual Pay, perfectly disciplin'd and experienc'd in the Business of their Profession. And that this Number ought to be greater or less, in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, and the Condition of the Government, to secure Obedience and good Order, and immediately to suppress any seditious Practices and Commotions, which give Disturbance, and threaten any Danger, either from factious Subjects, or busy designing Enemies: Reserving still to himself the Power and Opportunity of making new and greater Levies, when he shall be forced into a formal War, and to take the Field in good earnest; whether that War shall happen to oblige him in acting Offensively or Defensively. And in the mean while, that his Arsenals and Magazines be constantly well stored with all manner of offensive and defensive Weapons, that so both Horse and Foot may be sufficiently furnish'd, and compleatly equipp'd, without Difficulty or Delay. In which Provision I likewise



wife include Ammunition and Provision of all kinds, Engines and Utenfils of War, whether for a Camp or a Siege. Such Preparations are not only necessary in order to making War and sustaining our selves, when Acts of Hostility are committed upon us, and consequently such as every State ought to be before-hand with, because they require a great deal of Time and Expence to have them in readiness for Use; but they are excellent Preventions too, and many times put a stop to the Designs of levying War upon us: For few Enemies will tempt a Danger, or venture upon a Government, which is always in Condition to receive and revenge their Attempts. Surprize, and Advantage, and the being an Over-match, are the Considerations that animate Strangers abroad, or Parties at home, to injure and attack us. The best Security, when all is done, will be for a Prince to render himself formidable; and Men are most likely to be quiet, when they dare not be otherwise for their own sakes. So infallible, so eternal a Maxim is it in Politicks, That \* *the Prince, who would establish a firm Peace, must be sure to be well provided for War,* and treat with the Sword in his Hand.

After all these necessary and essential Provisions already mentioned, I add, in the last place, that of Alliances; which is by no means an inconsiderable Point, but a mighty Strengthening and Support to any Government. But then the greatest part of this Advantage is owing to prudent Choice, and good Conduct; and therefore good Care must be

25.  
Seventh  
Head.  
Alliances.

\* Qui cupit Pacem, paret Bellum.

taken

CHAP. II. taken with whom these Alliances are made, and upon what sort of Terms they are established.

The Persons most proper for the Friendship and Alliance of a Prince, are Neighbours, and Persons of Power and Interest. For if they be either weak or remote, what Assistance are they in any Capacity of giving? The only Circumstance that can render such necessary, and engage us in their Interests, is, the being attack'd by a powerful Enemy, so as that by ruining them he gains an Opportunity to destroy us; and so the succouring them is the preserving our selves. In such a Case, let the Allie be otherwise never so unworthy our Regard, we ought to join Forces, and defend him with our utmost Might. And, if the doing this openly may be a Means of involving us in Danger, then there must be a good Understanding and Assistance given under-hand; for it is a Master-piece in Politicks to manage a Confederacy with one Prince bare-fac'd, and in the Eye of all the World, and to be well with another all the while, by an Agreement, behind the Curtain and unsuspected. But still my Meaning is, that such Secrecy should be free from all Treachery, and Baseness, and foul Dealing: For Wickedness and Falshood are never allowable; but Prudence and good Management are highly to be commended; tho' even these, when they run into Intrigue and Doubling, are more especially to be reserved for acting the defensive Part, and securing the Government from some imminent Danger; Cases that admit a much greater Latitude than acting offensively, and where there is no urgent Necessity, will bear one out in.

But



But it ought to be farther observed, that there are several Sorts and Degrees of Alliance. The lowest and most simple of all, is only that which extends to an Agreement for mutual Trading and Commerce between the Countries concerned; but the more usual Kind is that which obliges to Friendship, and reciprocal Kindness; and this is either Defensive only, or else Offensive and Defensive both: And that again, by a League either limited, and with an Exception of some particular Princes and States reserved out of the Treaty, or else general, and without any Restraint or Exception at all. The closest and most perfect Confederacy is that which is Offensive and Defensive, for and against all Persons whatsoever; this is an Engagement to succour and be a Friend to all their Friends, and to oppose and be an Enemy to all their Enemies. And this Agreement is of great Convenience to be made with Princes of Power and great Influence, and upon an equal Foot; so that each Side engage upon the same Terms. Again, Alliances may differ in point of Time; some are prescribed and limited to a certain Term; others are perpetual. The more common Way is to make them without any fix'd Term mention'd in the Treaty, and these are called *Perpetual*: But the better and safer Course is to limit it to a number of Years expressly: Because then the Renewal gives Liberty for second Thoughts. Some Articles may be added, and others left out. In a word, any Alterations may then be made, as the Circumstances or Inclinations of the Parties happen to vary: Or, if Occasion be, either of them is freely and entirely at his own Disposal, to break off, and be absolutely disengag'd

for

## 1084 *Of Prudence in Government.*

CHAP. III. for the future. Nay, tho' the Condition of these Treaties, and the Persons concerned in them, be such as one would wish to perpetuate them; yet even thus it is more convenient to repeat the Engagements, and enter into fresh Covenants upon fresh Consideration, than to enter into a perpetual League at once. (Provided always, that in such Cases the Treaty be concluded, and all made fast again, before the utter Expiration of the former Term) For all Compacts of this kind naturally languish and cool in Process of Time; and he that finds it for his Convenience to be off, will be more apt to violate his Faith, if the Alliance be perpetual, and give him no Prospect of Redress, than if it be limited; and so he can see to the End of his Grievance: For in this Case he will be tender of his Honour, and wait with Patience till he be absolv'd of Course, and can come off without any Blemish. And thus you have seen what those seven Heads are, which I thought necessary for the provisionary Part of Civil Prudence.

---

### C H A P. III.

*The Second Part of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which consists in the Administration and good Conduct of the Prince.*

1. **H**AVING thus insisted at large upon the Provision a Prince ought to make, and instructed him what Ornaments and Furniture, what Defence and what Securities (if I may so term them) are necessary for the Honour and Safety of his Person and

and his Government; and not only so, but like-  
 wise what Courses are proper to be taken for the  
 acquiring and furnishing out such Supplies: Let us  
 now proceed to Action, and observe after what  
 Manner these things ought to be made use of, and  
 employ'd to the best Advantage. But before we  
 come to treat of this Matter distinctly, and with  
 Reference to the several Branches of the former  
 Division respectively, we may venture to say in ge-  
 neral, That this whole Matter consists in govern-  
 ing well; and again, That a good Administration,  
 with regard both to the Welfare and Obedience of  
 the Subject, and the Security of the Prince, will  
 depend chiefly upon such a sort of Conduct as shall  
 acquire him two things, hearty good Will, I  
 mean, and Authority. The former is that affecti-  
 onate Concern and Kindness which Subjects should  
 retain for their Sovereign and his Government.  
 The latter is a good and great Opinion, an honour-  
 able Esteem of him and his Government. With  
 respect to the former of these it is, that a Prince is  
 belov'd, and by virtue of the latter he is fear'd and  
 stood in awe of. Now these two Affections of  
 Love and Fear, tho' they be very distant, yet are  
 they by no means contrary to, or destructive of one  
 another, and consequently neither are those Re-  
 gards so, which in the present Case flow from, and  
 are the Result of those Passions. Both of them  
 likewise are of general Extent in the Matter before  
 us; and both Subjects and Strangers are concern'd  
 in each. Tho' indeed, if we look strictly into the  
 Thing, and speak more properly, the good Will  
 seems to be the Quality of Subjects, and the Au-  
 thority, that which hath the principal Influence  
 upon



CHAP. III. upon Strangers. And accordingly *Tacitus* distinguishes them, when he advises Persons in this eminent Post, to order Matters so, \* *that their own Country-men may be sure to love, and Foreigners and Enemies may be sure to fear them.* And if we would deliver our Judgment freely and fully upon the Matter, though both are of great Efficacy, yet it must be acknowledged, that Authority is the stronger and more vigorous Principle of the two, the more venerable and of longer Continuance. But when there is a just Temper, and exact Harmony of both together, this Matter is then brought to its utmost Perfection: A thing not always practicable, because the different Constitutions of Government, and yet more different Humours and Dispositions of People, according to their several Climates, or Countries, or Complexions, make a mighty Difference in the acquiring these, and incline some to the one of these Afflictions of the Mind, and others to the other: So that some are easily brought to love, and are scarce susceptible of Fear; others as easily awed into Respect, but not without infinite Difficulty to be won over to Kindness and Love for their Prince. What Methods are most proper and adviseable for the acquiring both these Advantages, we have already been inform'd; for the several Heads of Provision so largely explain'd, are but so many Means for the compassing this End: Though of them the most effectual and insinuating seem to be those comprehended under the Heads, which touch upon the Virtues, and the Manners or Deportment of a Prince. But however, it may

\* Amorem apud Populares, Metum apud Hostes quarat.

not be amiss, now we are fallen upon the Matter Book III.  
more directly, to say one Word or two more, with  
regard to each of these powerful Advantages ex-  
pressly.

This good Will and hearty Affection is of infi-  
nite and excellent Use; it is in a manner absolutely  
necessary; insomuch, that this, by its own single  
Strength, is able to do a great deal, and gives a  
mighty Security; but all the rest without this is  
very feeble and unsafe. The Methods of obtaining  
it are principally three: First, Moderation and  
Gentleness; not in Words and Actions, soft Lan-  
guage and courteous Behaviour only, but also in  
the very Temper of the Commands issued out, and  
the whole Administration. For the Generality of  
Mankind are of such a Disposition, as will neither  
endure to have their Hands ty'd behind them, nor  
absolutely loose, and at their own Disposal. \* *They  
are impatient, says Tacitus, of an arbitrary Yoke, and  
perfect Slavery, and yet at the same time every whit  
as unable to bear perfect and uncontrolled Liberty.*  
They make a shift to obey well enough, and are  
contented to live in the Quality of Subjects; but  
the Chains and Captivity of Slaves they can never  
away with; and therefore he says of them, that  
they are tamed and † *subdued, not to serve, but to  
obey.* And the very Truth is, ‡ Every Man finds  
himself more inclin'd to comply with a Superior,  
who uses his Power tenderly; and the greater the  
Command, the readier and more hearty is com-

2.  
Good Will  
acquir'd  
by Gentle-  
ness.

\* Nec totam servitutem pati, nec totam libertatem.

† Domiti ut pareant, non serviant.

‡ Remissius imperanti melius paretur. Qui vult amari,  
languidâ regnet manu.

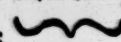
# 1088 *Of Prudence in Government.*

CHAP. III. monly the Observance paid to it. He that will be well carried, must take Care not to ride with too stiff a Rein. *Cæsar*, who was very expert, and a perfect Master in Matters of this kind, used to say, That Power, when moderately exercised, kept all safe and right; but when a Man once came to let himself loose, and commanded things without any regard to the Reasonableness or the Decency; when he was set upon making himself absolute, and resolv'd to be obeyed right or wrong; such a one could never be belov'd by his Subjects, nor did he sit fast in his Throne. In the mean while give me Leave to add, that by this Gentleness and Moderation I do not mean such a tame and easy, negligent and effeminate Softness, as lets the Reins of Government perfectly loose; for this will expose a Prince to Reproach and Contempt, and degenerate into an Extreme ten thousand times worse than that of Fear. In all these Cases therefore a Commander must observe how far he can go decently, \* and what Indulgences are consistent with his Honour. And the proper Province, as well as the Excellence and Commendation of Prudence in Matters of this Nature, will be, to make so just a Mixture of Justice and Gentleness, that a Prince may neither seek to be fear'd by Methods of Rigour and Extremity, and rendering himself a publick Terror to the World; nor study to ingratiate himself, and become popular and belov'd by Methods so mean and unworthy, as should make him despicable, and a Jest and Scorn of the World.

\* Sed incorrupto Ducis honore. *Tacit.*



## Of Prudence in Government. 1089

The Second Expedient, which I think advisable-<sup>CHAP. III.</sup>  
ble for gaining the Affections of the World, is   
*Beneficence* : I mean so general and unbounded a <sup>3.</sup>*Beneficence*  
Disposition to do good, as shall by no means be  
confined to those of the first Quality, or near the  
Prince's Person; but shed it self all over, upon all  
Sorts and Conditions of Men, that even the lowest  
and most distant, the meanest of the People, may  
taste and rejoice in it. One excellent way of doing  
this, is by good Management, and provident Care;  
contriving sufficient Provisions, and setting mode-  
rate Prices upon Commodities; seeing that the  
Markets be well furnished, and Corn and other  
Necessaries for the Support of Life, sold at reason-  
able Rates; that if it be possible, there may always  
be Plenty, and whatever Nature cannot subsist  
without, may be cheap; for nothing is so sensi-  
ble a Grievance as Scarcity, and extravagant Rates;  
and the Blame of all will be sure to be laid at the  
Governor's Door. The common People have no  
other Notion of publick Good, but what they are  
sustain'd by; nor can you make them believe that  
any other, either Duty or Benefit, is incumbent  
upon, or to be expected from those that sit at  
Helm, comparable to that of feeding the Sub-  
ject; as if Society and Government were instituted  
for no other Purpose, than to see that the vulgar,  
and poorer Sort of Men should never want a full  
Belly. \* And accordingly *Tacitus* hath observed,  
that the only Motive which can fasten their Af-  
fections to the State, is the Convenience of being  
maintain'd at the publick Care.

\* Vulgo una ex Republicâ Anonæ cura.

Book, III.

4. *Liberality.* The third Attractive of Peoples Affections is Liberality, which is in Truth a more particular Sort of Beneficence: This is a Bait, nay, a Charm rather; for it does not only allure and invite, but draws, bewitches, captivates Mens Hearts, almost whether they will or no. So pleasant and sweet it is to be on the receiving, so honourable and winning to be on the giving Hand: Insomuch that a very wise Man laid it down for a Maxim, *That a Government is better secured by Kindness, and Obligations, than by strength and force of Arms.* This is an Expedition useful at all Times, but more especially so, at the first Entrance upon Government; when there hath been either some late Succession, or some new Establishment. What Persons are the proper Objects of this Liberality, in what Proportions it ought to be extended, and what Address ought to be observed in Manner of giving, are Particulars which have been largely examin'd and resolv'd already. I only add, that *Augustus* hath given us, in his own Person, an eminent Instance, both of the Practice of these Methods for attaining the Love and Esteem of Mankind, and of the Success of such Measures, \* *For he (says Tacitus) won upon the Army by Largesses; the common People by plenty of Corn; and all Degrees of Men by the sweets of Rest and universal Peace.*

5. *Authority.* Authority is the other Pillar that supports any Government; for, † *The Majesty of the royal Character is its Safety and Defence.* This is that impregnable Fort that keeps the lower and naked World

\* Qui Militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit.

† Majestas Imperii Salutis Tutela.

in awe; by Virtue whereof the Prince can demand, and force Satisfaction, from any who shall presume to contemn his Orders, or behave themselves insolently to him. Upon the Account of this it is, that the Discontents of People end in Murmurs, that the enraged Mobile dares not storm the Palace, but all desire to be in good Grace with their great Master. Now, this Authority is a compounded thing, and the two Ingredients that make it up, are Fear and Respect. By these two, the Prince and his Government become formidable, spread a sort of Awe upon all who behold and consider them, and are secured from Attempts by this Protection. Now, to the acquiring this Authority, besides that all the Heads of Provision insisted upon in the last Chapter must concur, there are three other Things absolutely necessary to be observed, in the Administration, and manner of governing it self.

The First of these is Severity; which, commonly speaking, is much more for the Safety and Advantage of a Governour, and a better and more durable Defence from Enemies and Dangers, than Easiness and Clemency; because these are so very seldom tempered with Discretion; and a great softness and gentleness of Disposition is exceeding apt to degenerate, and, as was hinted before, to produce very mischievous Effects. Of this several good Accounts may be given; As *First*, the natural Humour of the People, which, as *Aristotle* very truly observed, is not cast in so good a Mould, as to be tractable; nor will they be contained in their Duty by any Principles so generous as Love or Shame; nothing less, nothing better will do it than Force



BOOK III. and Fear, Extremity, and a Dread at least of Punishment. A Second Reason is the general Corruption of Manners, and that Extravagance and Debauchery which, like a contagious Distemper, hath tainted and overspread all the World; and this by being general, takes Courage, grows insolent and presumptuous; and is so far from any possibility of being reform'd by fair Means, that such Gentleness only inflames the Disease, and makes Vice more bold and triumphant. It begets Contempt of Superiors, and strengthens the Wicked with Hopes of Impunity, which is the Plague and Bane of all Law, and all Government. For, as *Cicero* says, \* *The most powerful Temptation to offend, arises from the Hope of Impunity.* And most certain it is, that Rigor upon particular notorious Offenders, is the greatest Mercy that can possibly be shewn to the Publick, and the whole Body of Subjects in general. There is sometimes a Necessity of making signal and solemn Examples thus, at the Expence of private Sufferings, to teach other People Wisdom, and to prevent the exorbitant Growth of Villany, by cutting it short betimes. The Body Politick is in this Respect subject to the same Dangers, and must submit to the same Methods of Cure, with our natural Body; where a Finger is many times taken out of a meer Principle of Tenderneſs; that by this seeming Barbarity, a Mortification may be prevented from seizing the whole Arm first, and then the Vitals. And thus that King of *Thrace* made no ill Answer, to one that reproach'd him with playing the Part, not of a King, but a Mad-man; *Ay, Sir, says he, but this Madneſs of mine keeps*

\* *Illecebra peccandi maxima spes impunitatis.*

my Subjects in their Senses; and they grow wiser by that which you think my Folly. Severity keeps Officers and Magistrates strictly to their Duty, and promotes a faithful Execution of their respective Trusts; it discountenances Flatterers, and turns Parasites out of Doors; the wicked and dissolute, the impudent Beggar, and little Tyrants of the Court are not able to stand before it: Whereas on the contrary, Easiness and excessive Mildness of Temper opens the Gate wide, and admits all these infamous Wretches; by whose Importunity and Unreasonableness the publick Treasures are exhausted and squandered away; all manner of Vice is encouraged, the Kingdom is impoverished: All which, and a great many other Miseries, like Colds and Catarrhs, in a rheumatick and distempered Body, break the Constitution, and fall and settle, like the Humours, upon the weakest Parts. The good Nature of *Pertinax*, and the Licentiousness of *Heliogabalus* had like to have lost all, and were very near ruining the *Roman* Empire; and then the strict Discipline of *Severus* first, and afterwards of *Alexander*, restor'd, and made all whole again.

But still Extreame must be avoided; and the Severity I recommended should be exercised with prudent Reserve, and just Distinction: It must not be a thing of constant Practice, but now and then, upon justifiable and important Occasions, and when it may be seasonable and effectual. For the End of this Dispensation must always direct the Use of the Means; and the Design of all Rigour in the Administration of Justice is plainly this, \* *That the Sufferings of a few may work Terror and Amendment in*

\* Ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes.

BOOK III. *thereft.* Thus the Almighty Law-giver himself, renders an Account of several exemplary and capital Punishments among the *Israelites*; *That all Israel may bear, and fear, and do no more wickedly.* Now, such Executions, when grown daily and familiar, lose their Efficacy; and therefore that antient Author was certainly in the right, who affirmed, that some few publick Examples contribute more to the Reformation of the People than frequent Punishments, which come thick upon one another, can possibly do. The Reason of which is, that the more surprising and new any Impressions of this Kind are, the more strong, and terrible, and awakening they are. But then all this is to be understood of common Cases; for if Vice gather Strength, if the Profelytes and Practisers of it grow numerous, and resolute, and bold, in such a Case Compassion is the greatest Cruelty, Fire and Sword are then the only Remedies, and it is necessary to go thro' with the Cure. And whatever Imputations of a bloody and barbarous Temper may in such Circumstances be cast upon a Prince, they are but the Effects of Ignorance and unjust Censure; for here again it is in the State, as in these private Bodies of ours, where the \* *Extremity of a Disease, and the ungovernableness of the Patient, forces the Physician to be cruel;* and he would betray his Skill, and be false to his Profession, should he relent, and be otherwise.

<sup>7.</sup>  
Constancy. The Second Expedient for establishing and preserving a Prince's Authority, is Constancy. A Firmness, and resolv'd Temper of Mind, by which he keeps to his own Methods, treads the same Steps,

\* *Cruellem Medicum, intemperans æger facit.*



and without any Fickleness or wanton Love of CHAP. III. Change, advances still on, gets Ground upon his Subjects, and enforces a due Observance of establish'd Laws and antient Customs. To be continually altering and reviewing, abolishing old, and enacting new, besides, that it argues a weak and unsettled Mind, which never knows when things are well, nor where to fix; it does unavoidably lessen a Prince in the Eye of the World, and derives a very mean Opinion, both upon his Person and his Laws; nay, it exposes both to publick Scorn and Contempt. Upon this Account, wise Men have ever shew'd themselves averse to Change, and that to such a Degree, as to dissuade and forbid Alterations in Laws and received Customs, even tho' they were to be chang'd for the better. For (besides the Uncertainty and the Danger of such Courses, and that we know the worst of what is practis'd now, but cannot foresee the Consequences of what was never yet try'd) take the Matter abstractedly and by itself, and it is certain, that Alteration of an old Law is always more inconvenient, and does greater Mischief, than the Novelty of a Thing introduc'd in its room can possibly do Good. Upon this Account (as I have intimated in a former Part of this Treatise) busy Fellows and Reformers have all along been look'd upon as very suspicious and dangerous People, and by all means to be discountenanced. And in truth, nothing less than either evident or absolute necessity, or else as evident and very considerable Advantage to the Publick; and this a certain, and not meerly a possible, or likely Consequence of the Change, can never be Argument strong and substantial enough for breaking in upon antient Consti-  
tutions,

tutions, and altering the Measures of any Government. And when such cogent Motives as these are offer'd to persuade it, yet even then there is mighty Caution and Diligence to be used; the Proceedings ought to be exceeding well advis'd; every Step taken warily and with Deliberation. All must not be done at a Push; but the Old laid aside with Decency and by degrees, and the New introduc'd as gently and insensibly, as is possible. For in this, above any other conjuncture of Affairs, is that Proverb of \* *Fair and softly*, a necessary Rule in Politics.

The Third Expedient for this Purpose, is to steer this Vessel himself, and not trust the Helm of Government in any other Hand. My Meaning is, that the Honour and Power of issuing out Orders, and giving Commands, should be reserv'd to the Prince in Person, and no other act as Superintendent under him: That he should give the last Determinations, and his Will be the Direction, without referring all to his Council, and suffering them to act and order, as they think fit. For this will draw the Eyes, and the Respects of all his Subjects, and make them sensible, that all depends upon his Disposal and good Pleasure. The Sovereign, who gives away, tho' it be never so little of his Authority, is in danger of losing all; and will quickly grow insignificant and despicable. For this Reason a prudent King will be sure never to raise any Subject too high, or make him extravagantly great, or wealthy above the rest. † *The common Safeguard of the Govern-*

\* Lenitur & lente.

† Communis custodia Principatus, neminem unum magnum facere.

ment and Royal State, is to take care, that no one Subject be made too big by the Favour of his Prince, says *Aristotle*. And if it happen that he find such a one already made to his Hands, it is a Maxim in Politicks, to lessen and lower him: But then that must be done sily and smoothly, by some Stratum not easily seen through, and in the most gentle, inoffensive, insensible Way that can be. Another Rule is, not to give Places of great Dignity and Importance, for Life; much less suffer them to be hereditary and descend in the same Family; nay, it is dangerous indeed to continue These for any long Term of Years, lest Men by this means should strengthen their Party, and at last become a Match for their Master. And whoever shall consult Histories, both antient and modern, and there examine the Causes of powerful Factions, and the most surprising and fatal Revolutions of States and Empires, will find the greatest Part of them owing to the exorbitant Riches and Power of some over-grown Subject, or the Influence and Interest of some old and important Officer: So that *Seneca* had good Reason to say, *Nothing is so convenient and advantageous to the State, as the frequent Change of high Officers; no Trust, no Power, which is great, ought to be continued long in the same Hand.*

These are fair and honest Means, agreeable to Justice, becoming the Character of a Prince, and fit for him to use for the acquiring and supporting himself, both in the good Affections of the World, and in a venerable Authority with them. Upon these Terms he may be loved and feared both; and so it is necessary he should be. For tho' a convenient Mixture of these Two be desirable and excellent,

9.  
Against  
Tyranny.



lent, yet either of them singly, and destitute of the other, is neither reasonable in it self, nor any Security to the Government. Upon which Account it is, that we detest and abhor a tyrannical Authority, a Fear absolutely repugnant to, and destructive of Affection and Love, such as renders the Person an Object of all Men's Hatred at the same Time. \* *Let them hate me, so they fear me*, is a brutish and savage Declaration; no one that is really a Man, would be content with Power and Greatness at that Rate; and this Authority, if it be fit to allow it so honourable a Name, is such as barbarous, and arbitrary, and wicked Men procure to themselves; not by the Exercise, but by the Abuse of their Power. The Qualities and Character of a good Prince and a Tyrant, have no manner of Resemblance to one another. The Distance is so vast, the Disparity so notorious, that it is scarce possible for a Man not to distinguish between them. In short, they all turn at last upon these two Points: One is, The observing the Laws of God and Nature with a religious Strictness, or the trampling both under Foot, with the greatest Insolence and Contempt. The other, making the publick Good, and true Interest of one's Subjects, the End and Measure of all one's Actions; or the making every thing truckle to his own Will, and by every Action and Design, serving and aiming at nothing else but private Profit and Pleasure. Now the Prince who will answer his Character, and be what so glorious a Station requires, must constantly remember, that as it is the peculiar Happiness and Prerogative of Power to do whatever he hath a Mind to;

\* *Oderint dum metuant.*

## Of Prudence in Government. 1099

so it is also the true Prerogative of the Will, and CHAP. III.  
the most certain Mark of real Greatness, to have  
a Mind to such Things only as are just, and law-  
ful, and becoming. \* *Cæsar* (says *Pliny*) *hath less*  
*in his Power than common Men, upon this very Ac-*  
*count, that every thing is in his Power. For, as it*  
*is a Happiness to be able to do what you please, so it is*  
*true Greatness to will only such things as you can do;*  
*or rather, indeed, to desire and will no more than you*  
*ought to do;* for in strict speaking, a Man can do  
no more than lawfully he may do. The greatest  
Misfortune that any Prince is capable of, is the be-  
ing possessed with an Opinion that his Will is his  
Rule; and that all that is possible, is lawful for him.  
As soon as ever he hath given way to this vile Ima-  
gination, his whole Temper and Manners presently  
grow corrupt, and from a good Man, he is trans-  
formed into a wicked Wretch, and a Monster. Now  
this Opinion commonly insinuates its self by Syco-  
phants and Parasites: Flattery infuses and blows it  
up; for Persons of that Dignity never want enough,  
and too many, to preach up to them the Greatness  
of their Power, because this is a pleasing Doctrine,  
and tickles the Ear; but the Obligations of Duty  
carry a harsh and grating Sound; and there are few,  
but very few Servants so hearty in their Fidelity,  
as to entertain their Master upon this necessary Sub-  
ject. But of all Sorts of Flattery, that is the most  
dangerous, when a Man flatters himself. In other  
Cases, a Man may stop his Ears against the treacherous  
Insinuation; he may enjoyn Silence, forbid all Dis-

\* *Cæsari cum omnia licent, propter hoc minus licet. Ut  
felicitatis est, posse quantum velis, sic magnitudinis, velle  
quantum possis; vel potius quantum debeas.*

course

**BOOK III.** course of that Kind, avoid the Presence and Company of the nauseous Wretches that use and hope to ingratiate themselves by it: But when the Person who gives, and he who receives the Flattery, are one and the same, what shall he do, or whether shall he run from such destructive Conversation? And therefore a Prince, above all other People, is highly concern'd to deal honestly by himself; to decline and despise the fulsom and base Soothings of other People, who hope to make their court this Way; and especially to be a severe Inquisitor and Judge of his own Actions, and not to cajole himself into Ruin.

After all that hath been said (and too much cannot be said against Tyranny and Arbitrary Administration) it is necessary to add, that sometimes such Critical Junctures of Affairs will happen, such Intricacies and Perplexities of publick Business, with regard to Time, Person, Places, Occasions, or some accidental Circumstances; that a Prince will be driven to a Necessity of doing some things, which at first view may look like Tyranny: As for Instance; When the Matter depending before him, is the suppressing another Tyranny; the Licentiousness, I mean, of a head-strong, hair-brain'd People, whose ungovernable Fury is the most absolute, most destructive Tyranny in the World; or when he is to break some close Cabal, or powerful Faction of the Nobility, and Persons of Wealth and Figure in their Country; or when the publick Treasures are reduced and wasted, the King driven to extream Wants, and knows not where to furnish himself with needful Supplies, and so is compelled, for the Relief of the State, in its present Exigency, to raise Monies irregularly, and borrow from the rich, by such



such Loans as they are not perfectly contented with. CHAP. III.  
Of these Extremities, and the Methods and Remedies proper for them, I have spoken formerly; and the only Design of renewing the Mention of them here, is to persuade People to give the best and most favourable Interpretation to Cases of Necessity; and not immediately clamour against them, and represent them in their worst and most odious Colours, but make all the Allowances they can bear. Much less ought we to misconstrue Severity upon particular Offenders, or esteem the Number of his Guards, or the Strength of his Forts, or the Majesty and Stile Imperial of his Commands to be Tyranny: For all these things are not only useful in a very high Degree, but in some Circumstances indispensably necessary. And such authoritative Methods in Kings, are much better, and more desirable, than the softest Entreaties, and kindest Caresses of Tyrants.

And thus I have represented the Two firm Supports of a Prince, and a State; and happy is it for them, who know how to acquire and continue these Advantages to themselves; and by so doing, effectually prevent the two Contraries, which are the very Murderers and certain Undoers of a Prince and Government, Hatred, I mean, and Contempt: Concerning which, I beg the Reader's Patience to say one Word, because the brief Consideration of them may be of some Service towards the preventing or defending our selves from them.

Hatred then, which is the direct Contrary to Love 10.  
and Good-will, is an obstinate, wicked, perverse *Hatred.*  
Affection of the Mind, whereby the Subjects are violently prejudiced, and bitterly set against the  
Prince

BOOK III. Prince and his Government. This commonly springs, either from some Apprehension of future Mischiefs, or from a Desire of revenging some past Injury; or else from a Resentment compounded of both these together. When this Hatred is very rank and fierce, and when it spreads and grows Epidemical, the Danger is extremely great, and the Consequence commonly fatal; and very seldom it is, that a Prince is able to stem, or get over it. \* *No Power (says Tully) is so great as to be a Match for a general Hatred; The Multitude have many Hands, and the Prince hath but one Head.* This is it they thirst after; this is what they want, to put an End to their Rage; and he is but a Man equal in this Regard to any one of his Enemies, but expos'd to the Attempts of them all. You see then, how important, how necessary it is for a Prince to preserve himself from such a dangerous, such an irresistible Mischiefs; and the most likely Course that can be taken for this Purpose, will be to avoid the two Extrems of Cruelty and Avarice, so directly opposite to that Gentleness and Liberality, which were observ'd before to be the powerful Instruments, and most powerful Motives to gain the Kindness and good Affection of any People.

11.  
Cruelty.

*First*, he must by all means keep himself clear and untainted from any base and barbarous Cruelty, such as is a Blemish to his Character, scandalous, and abominable, and unbecoming his Grandeur: On the other Hand, let his Mind be strongly arm'd by Clemency, the Reasons and Necessity whereof have been shewn already, when we treated of

\* Multorum odiis nullæ opes possunt resistere. Multæ illis manus; Illi una cervix.

the

the Virtues more peculiar to a Prince. But still, in regard publick Punishments are necessary and unavoidable; and these, even when most just, even when most necessary, carry some Face and Appearance of Cruelty, it concerns a Governour to carry himself very prudently in the Management of this Matter; and perhaps there are not many Cases which require more Dexterity and Address. And therefore I will presume to venture at a little particular Advice upon this Occasion. As first, Let him by no means be too eager and hasty in laying his hand upon the Sword of Justice; but shew, that he draws it meerly in his own Defence; and by his slowness to be provok'd, and loathsomeness to revenge, convince the World, that what he does of this Kind, is the effect of meer Necessity, and fore against his Inclination. \* *He that passes Sentence speedily, does it willingly, and with a Glee; whereas there is a Tenderness due, and a King ought to be very saving even of the worst and vilest Blood.* Secondly, Let the Principle upon which he proceeds, be the Prospect of the publick Good; and let their making their Faults exemplary, and preventing the Spreading and Growth of it in others, and a Relapse of the Sufferer himself, be the Motives of Punishment, rather than any thirst of Vengeance, or a Desire to torment the guilty Person. *Thirdly*, Whatever of this Kind is necessary to be done, let it be put in execution with all possible Calmness and Temper. A King should be like his Laws, cool and sedate, void of all manner of Passion; and therefore Anger, and Joy, and any other Emotion

\* Libenter damnat, qui citò; ergo illi parsimonia etiam vilissimi sanguinis.



BOOK III. of the Soul is highly unbeseeming; but if any Passion may be allowed, that of Pity is the only one that can shew itself with a good Grace upon these Occasions. *Fourthly*, Let the Execution be only what is usual, and according to the Laws and Customs of the Country in such Cases; for the aggravating of the Pain, and inventing new and more exquisite Methods of Torment, are so many certain Marks of a cruel and remorseless Mind. *Fifthly*, Let not the Prince have any hand in inflicting the Punishment, nor so much as be present at the Execution; for this looks like insulting, and taking satisfaction in the Suffering of the Criminal. *Lastly*, If there be a Necessity of punishing a great many, let it be done with all convenient speed, and altogether, that it may be over and forgotten, as soon as possible: For the prolonging their Execution, and repeating these tragical Sights one by one, looks as if a Man play'd the *Epicure* in Blood. For we naturally contrive, that those things may be lengthened out, or often renewed to us, which give us Entertainment and Delight. And every Body hastens to make an End of that which is disagreeable, and raises his Aversion.

12.  
*Avarice.*

The next thing which he ought to keep himself free from, is Avarice, than which no Vice whatsoever can possibly be more misbecoming a great Man. Now this may discover it self two Ways; either in Extortion, and exacting more than is fit; or in Niggardliness, and in giving less than is fit. The former of these will be sure to disgust the common People, who are all of them naturally covetous, and esteem their Pocket the tenderest Part; for Money is their Blood, their Life, their very Soul.

Soul. And therefore nothing gives them so sensible an Affection, or raises their Indignation, like the Exactions that rob them of it. The Second discontents all that have served the State, who have any Pretensions to Merit, and have spent their Time and Pains, their Strength and Blood, upon the Publick; and therefore think some proportionable Gratuity their Due. Now we have already taken Occasion in the last Chapter, to discourse the Matter of the publick Treasure at large, how the Prince ought to manage himself in this whole Point; what Methods are proper for the raising of Funds; what Taxes are fit to be imposed, for the putting his Exchequer into Stock; what Prudence is requisite in the laying out such Moneys; and what Frugality necessary for the reserving a convenient Supply for extraordinary Exigencies. And therefore all I shall need to add here, is only thus much, that the Prince ought very diligently to beware of Three Things. The First, that he bear no manner of Resemblance to those tyrannical and extravagant Impositions, the insupportable Burden whereof have rather made the Leviers of them Devourers of their Country, and common Plunderers, than Fathers and Defenders of it. Such as God describes by the Mouth of his Psalmist, that *\* eat up the People as they would eat Bread; whose Treasures are enrich'd with the Spoils of their Subjects, and made the common Receptacle of Blood and Rapine.* For these Oppressions weary out all Patience, and provoke Tumults and Insurrections; as infinite Examples of Revenge and

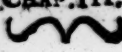
\* Qui devorant Plebem sicut escam panis, δημοσφόροι quorum cætarium spoliarum Civium, cruentarumque prædæ receptaculum.

Book III. Sedition, and other desperate Calamities prove to us. The Second Thing to be declined, is Sordidness, and that First in the gathering Part (*\* Following the Scent of Gain every where, and balking no Occasion, tho' never so vile and unbeseeming his Character; or, as the common Proverb says, Robbing the very Spital*) for which Reason it will be highly advisable in him, to be very sparing in taking the Advantage of Accusation and Attainders, Confiscations and Forfeitures, and other Spoils, which have an Air of Hardship, even when they are clear of Injustice. The other Branch of Sordidness is in being close-handed, giving nothing, or giving in little and sneaking Proportions; making his Favours mercenary, or being slow or difficult in granting; so that whatever is obtain'd shall be dear bought, by importunate Requests, and long Attendance; and it is not so properly the Effect of Generosity, or a Sense of Merit in the Receiver, as extorted by dunning, and wrested out of his Hands by tiring and vanquishing his Patience. The Third is, Methods of Violence, and unreasonable Exaction in the levying of Taxes; when the Manner of bringing it in, looks more like foraging, or going to plunder an Enemy, than to make a Demand upon a Subject. This Caution I confess, is chiefly aim'd at the Insolence of Collectors and Receivers, who by their base Extortions, and grinding the Faces of the Poor, expose the Prince to Hatred and Disrepute, and breed angry Resentments, and ill Blood in the People. For his Honour suffers for the Misdemeanors of his Under-Officers. These Monsters

\* Indignum lucrum ex omni occasione odorari; &c., ut dicitur, etiam à mortuis auferre.



## Of Prudence in Government. 1107

of Foxes and Wolves, who as one describes them, CHAP. III.  
 have six Hands and three Heads a-piece. And,   
 as in other Matters, so particularly in that of making Seizures, are barbarous and remorseless; especially such Goods as are Necessaries of a Man's Life, the Tools of his Trade, or Instruments of Husbandry; a Method to be declin'd in common Prudence, as exceeding odious, and what nothing less than Extremity, or very just Provocation ought to put them upon. It is therefore of mighty Consequence to a Prince, what sort of People are employ'd in these Offices; for it is highly requisite they should be Men both of Integrity and Prudence: Nor is it less necessary for his Honour, to turn them out with Disgrace when they misbehave themselves: A severe exemplary Punishment, a swinging Fine, to make them disgorge all their ill-gotten Gains, is what he owes to himself, and his own Defence: For these State-sponges should be used accordingly, and squeez'd in their Turn too, till they have given back every Drop of that Blood and Sweat, which they most mercilefly suck'd up, by draining and squeezing the poor Country People before.

Let us now proceed to consider that other, and, 13.  
 if it be possible, still worse Enemy of a Prince Contempt.  
 and his Government, which is Contempt, arising from an ill and mean Opinion both of the one and the other. What is it that can possibly support one single Man, and that sometimes one of great Years and Infirmities, in a Station so much above many Millions of his Brethren, except it be Authority, and a high Esteem? When once this is lost, and sinks into Contempt, all the rest is lost with it,  
B b b b 2 and

**BOOK. III.** and both Prince and Government fall to the Ground. And therefore, as in this Respect, according to what was urged before, Authority is of greater Strength and Efficacy, and carries more Pomp and Majesty with it, than the good Affection of a People; so likewise Contempt is more dangerous and formidable, than even Hatred it self. For Hatred is modest and timorous, it is restrain'd by Fear, and dares attempt nothing, till Contempt let it loose; but this shakes off that Yoke, animates and arms it for the most desperate Undertakings. It is true indeed, Contempt seldom rises very high, especially under the Government of a rightful Prince, unless he be perfectly insignificant, and degrade and prostitute himself and his Honour to that Degree, as only to be \* *a King of Clouts*. But still, since there is a Possibility of its happening, we shall do well to observe what are the Occasions most likely to produce it. Now this, as it is in its own Nature the very Reverse to Authority, so does it derive it self from Causes directly contrary to those, by Virtue whereof a Prince's Authority is procured and preserved: As for Instance, those three that follow;

- I. *First*, As to his Manner of Government; a loose, effeminate Softness, Supineness and Negligence in Business; a tame, heedless, unthinking Temper; or else Fickleness in his Resolution, and perpetual Change and Uncertainty in his Opinions and Methods: For when there is no Attention, no Steadiness, no Spirit or Vigour, this is the meer empty Name of a Government, without the Thing. Subjects under such Princes grow info-

\* *Ut videatur exire de Imperio.*

lent, and bold, and encroaching: They think they may do what they will, and that he will never regard, or reckon with them for it: \* *It is a great Calamity to have a Prince, under whom no Man enjoys any Liberty at all; but it is still greater to have one, under whom none are subject to any Check or Restraint at all.*

Secondly, This is frequently the Effect of his Misfortunes, either with Regard to his Affairs when they succeed ill; or in Respect of his Family, when there is no certain Prospect of Succession, either of his own Issue, or else by a fix'd Settlement; for Children are a mighty Strengthening to a Prince's Interest; and the not knowing what will become of the Crown when the present Possessor fails, is such a Diminution and Unhappiness, that we find even *Alexander* himself, in the midst of Glory and Conquest, complaining bitterly of it; † *My want of Heirs, says he, is despised, because I have no Children to succeed me. For the Children of a Prince are the Honour and the Strength of a Court.*

Thirdly, Princes often draw Contempt upon themselves by their Manners, and Way of Living particularly, if they be dissolute and debauch'd, sensual and effeminate; Slaves to Vice, and abandon'd to Luxury and Pleasure; especially to Sottishness, and Drinking, and Gluttony, the lowest and most despicable of all Pleasures: Also their Behaviour exposes them to it, if this be churlish

\* *Malum, principem habere, sub quo nihil ulli licet; pejus, eum, sub quo omnia omnibus.*

† *Orbitas mea, quod sine liberis sum, spernitur. Munimen Aulae Regii Liberi.*

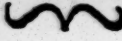


**BOOK III.** and morose; their Discourse, when childish and impertinent; their Persons, when nauseous and notoriously deform'd.

And thus we are got to the End of what I thought convenient to be premised, with relation to the active Part, or Administration of a Prince in general. We proceed now to handle it more distinctly and particularly. But in order hereunto, it must be remembred, that this (as was observ'd in the Beginning of this Chapter) consists of two Parts, the one Civil, or that which concerns a State of Peace and publick Tranquillity; the other Military, and proper for a State of War: For by the Former I understand the common and ordinary Methods of Government, which are of constant and daily Use, whether in a Time of Peace or War. By the Latter I mean those Methods which are proper to Martial Discipline, and the Practice whereof is peculiar to the Time of War only.

14. The peaceful and ordinary Administration of a Government is a Province of such vast Comprehension, and the Accidents and Occurrences of it so various and unforeseen, that it is impossible to reduce it to any general Rules. And besides, the Prudence of it consists oftentimes as much in forbearing to act, as at other Times in acting. But however, I will venture to lay down here some few Heads of Advice, which are necessary to be consider'd, and may be of some Advantage, perhaps, when the Duties they prescribe are observ'd duly, and improv'd, by applying the Substance of those general Intimations to particular Actions and Circumstances. First then, the Prince is concern'd above all Things, to take Care, that he be faithfully

## *Of Prudence in Government.* IIII

fully and diligently inform'd of all Matters which CHAP. III.  
any Way concern him to know. The Matters I   
mean here may be comprehended under two Heads,  
and consequently the Informations themselves, and  
the Persons made use of in them, are of two different Qualities. And to render those of each Sort  
what they ought to be, these Qualifications are  
absolutely necessary, and in common to both; Sincerity and Confidence, Secrecy and Prudence. But  
tho' these be requisite to both Kinds, yet they are  
not so to both equally: For the one have Occasion  
for much greater Liberty, and Openness, and Plain-  
dealing, than the other. The one of these are  
the Persons whose Business it is to put him in mind  
of his Duty, what he is obliged to, and what be-  
comes his Character; and not only so, but to make  
him duly sensible of his Faults and Failings, and to  
speak bold Truths to him concerning himself.  
There are no Sort of Men in the World, who  
stand in so great Need of such Friends, as Princes  
do; for they have no Senses of their own, nor any  
other Direction, but what is receiv'd from seeing  
with other People's Eyes, and hearing with other  
People's Ears. They sustain a publick Character,  
and have a World of People to satisfy; so that  
every Word and Action of theirs is the Matter of  
Censure or Commendation, and expos'd to the cri-  
tical Malice of all Mankind. And, as they have  
in this Respect more Humours to please, so are  
they less capable of doing it than common Men,  
because they are industriously kept in the Dark;  
and very little of what concerns them is suffer'd  
to come to their Knowledge. And thus, for want  
of better Instruction, they do Things which prove

inconvenient and disgusting; and so, with all the undesigning Innocence imaginable, expose themselves to the Hatred and Resentments of their Subjects. All which had certainly been prevented, or very easily remedy'd, had they been fairly and freely dealt with in Time. But then it must be said, on the other Hand, that they are in some Degree destin'd to this Ignorance, or accountable for it themselves; because Matters are so order'd, that Frankness of Humour, and Home-truths, by Way of Admonition or Reproof (tho' the best Offices, and surest Marks of Friendship and Affection) are yet seldom well taken; and especially to Princes they are not only unacceptable, but sometimes extremely dangerous to the Person, who hath Courage and Honesty enough to venture at them. And yet this cannot in Reason but appear a very criminal Nicety, and an Argument of great Weakness; when such Persons cannot bear having their Ears grated, and made to glow a little, for their Good: For this Harshness of the Sound is all they can endure; they are above Compulsion or Restraint; and have the whole Management of themselves left still entirely in their own Disposal.

The other Sort of Informers are such as are employ'd to bring what we properly call Intelligence; by representing all the considerable Actions and Occurrences, not only within the Compass of his Dominions, and by his own Subjects; but by discovering the Projects and Intrigues of neighbouring Courts: I say, of all that is doing at Home or Abroad, wherein either his own, or his Allies, or Borderer's Government is either immediately,



mediately, or but remotely concern'd. These two distinct Kinds of Correspondents do in some Degree answer the Character of those two Friends to *Alexander*, *Hephestion* and *Craterus*. One of which is said to have loved the King, and the other *Alexander*: That is, One of them was fond of his Person, the other of his Government; One regarded him in his private, the other in his publick Capacity; \* but the tenderer Friend dealt most freely with him.

In the second Place, The Prince should always have by him a private Book of *Memorandums*, consisting principally of Three Heads. *First*, An Abridgement of all Matters of publick Concern then depending: That by Recourse to this, he may inform himself at one View, what is fit to be done in the present Juncture of Affairs; what Matters are already in Motion, and want to be compleated; that so every thing may be attended to in its proper Season, and nothing done out of Time, or by Halves. The *Second* is a List of Persons Names, whose Merits may recommend them to his Favour, either upon the Account of past Services, which call for Rewards and Grati-fications; or of extraordinary Abilities, which qua-lify them for Preferments and Places of Trust. The *Third*, A Memorial of Gifts and Grants al-ready conferred, to whom, and upon what Con-siderations: For without a distinct and particular Account of these three Things, it is scarce pos-

\* The Description given of this personal Dearness betwixt *Alexander* and *Hephestion*, hath that among other Circumstances mention'd in it. *Secretorum omnium arbiter; Libertatis quoque in admonendo non alius jus habebat.* Quint. Curt. Lib. III. 12.  
fible

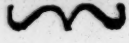
Book III.  sible to avoid the being frequently at a Loss, and making a great many false Steps. And accordingly we find, that Princes of the justest Renown, and most celebrated in Story for their Wisdom and Policy, have constantly taken this Method, and felt the Convenience of it; *Augustus* and *Tiberius* (for Instance) *Vespasian* and *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the *Antonines*.

16.

A third Rule may be this; That in regard one of the most material Parts of the Royal Character consists in distinguishing the Deserts of Men, and assigning Rewards and Punishments accordingly; and in consideration, that the one of these is extraordinary grateful, and recommends him to their Affection; the other naturally disgusting, and what will be sure to draw a great Odium upon the Instrument of it: Therefore the Distribution of Rewards should be reserved to himself. Honours and Estates, Offices and Preferments, Privileges and Pensions, Exemptions and Immunities, Restitutions and Pardons; and, in a Word, every thing of Grace and Favour should come immediately from his own Hand: But every thing that is grievous and grating, should be turn'd over to some other Hand: And therefore inferior Officers are more properly made use of, for pronouncing Sentences of Condemnation, imposing Fines, levying of Forfeitures, making Distresses, and executing all manner of Penalties: For tho' it be true, that all Matters of this Nature depend upon the same Authority, and it is virtually the Prince that does them; yet it is certain from Experience, and the common Sense of Mankind, that this is not so duly considered, but that it leaves a particular Grudge behind, and creates angry Resentments against that very Person, who is the  
next

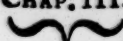
## *Of Prudence in Government.*

III 5

next and immediate Actor, though he be in reality CHAP. III.  
never so passive in the thing. 

In the Distribution of Rewards and Gratuities, and other Marks of Favour of the like Nature, this farther Intimation may not be unseasonable : That a Prince, upon such Occasions, should shew himself forward and free; he should, if it be possible, even prevent the Receiver's Expectations, and give unask'd; and not defer the Matter so long, till he bring himself under a necessity of denying any Applications made to him for them: He should likewise give in Person, when that can be done conveniently; or order them to be given in his Presence, and with some particular Expressions of his Favour and Esteem. For all these Circumstances are wonderfully engaging; they add to the intrinsic Value of the Gift; make it more welcome, and more effectual to all the Purposes it can be capable of serving. Besides, that in observing this Method, two mighty Inconveniencies will be avoided, which do really diminish in a great measure, if not quite defeat absolutely, the Acknowledgments due to Persons of Honour and Desert; One is that of a tedious Attendance; the Difficulty and intolerable Expence they are forc'd to be at, in obtaining the Advantages which are really intended them, and thought to be very justly conferred; and this to Men of Eminence and Spirit, is a great Grievance, and grates very hard. The other is, That after the Prince hath actually bestow'd the Gift, and declared his Pleasure in it, the Forms of the Grant, and the Delays and indirect Dealings of the Officers, through whose Hands it must pass, do so inflame the Reckoning, that before



CHAP. III.  fore a Man can be dispatched, and come into actual Possession of his own, it costs him at least half what the Thing is worth; nay, sometimes the full Value, or more; and when all Charges come to be computed, he hath the Name only, but receives nothing; or something he had better have been without, than have spent his Interest, and Money, and Time, for that which turns to so very poor Account.

We come now to that Part of the Administration which is Military: And this every Man easily sees to be necessary for the Defence and Support both of Prince and People, and preserving the Order and Honour of any Government. And therefore I shall treat of it with all the Brevity that the Subject will bear. Now, the whole of what is proper to be said upon it, may be reduc'd to three Heads; The engaging in a War at first, the carrying it on when begun, and the putting an End to it.

18. *Of Military Affairs.* 1. For the engaging in a War, Two Preliminaries are necessary, Justice and Prudence, and consequently the Two Vices opposite to these, by all Means to be avoided, which are Injustice and Rashness. First of all, It is necessary that the War be just; for Justice ought to march in the Head, and lead Courage on to Action; as Counsel and Deliberation ought to go before the Execution of a Design. And therefore such Maxims as these, tho' common in every Body's Mouth, are yet most wicked and abominable; that Right is always on the strongest Side; that the Success will determine the Cause; that the longest Sword will carry it. For certainly the Goodness of any Cause is not to be measur'd

measur'd by the Event, but by the Equity and the Reasonableness that is at the Bottom of it. And though War be a Thing of Violence and Force, and the Decisions of it very distant from the Method of determining civil Controversies; yet even War itself is not utterly Lawless, but hath its Rules and Measures to be observed, as well as Peace. Almighty God, who calls himself the Lord of Hosts, and God of Battles, does favour just Wars in a peculiar Manner; it is He, who disposes of Victories, and casts the Scale, as he in his infinite Wisdom sees fit. But it is the Duty of every Prince to qualify himself for that Favour; and, as much as may be, to engage Providence on his Side; and the First of those Qualifications, is the Justice of the Undertaking. To pick Quarrels therefore, and \* *commence a War upon every Occasion, is what can never be answered.* The Itch of Honour and Triumph will bear no Monarch out in it: And therefore such ought to take good Heed, that Ambition, and Avarice, and Passion, be not too busy upon these Occasions, which yet, if a Man may be allowed to speak the Truth freely, e'er it is to be feared, the great Incendiaries in the World, are generally at the Bottom of such Undertakings. † *One, and that indeed the unusual and antient Cause of War, is the insatiable Thirst of Riches and Dominion; that Abyss of Avarice and Ambition, which measures the Greatness of a Prince's Glory by the Extent of his Territories, and Enlargement of his Conquest. The raging Desire of*

\* Non ex omni occasione querere triumphum.

† Una & ea vetus causa bellandi est profunda cupido Imperii & divitiarum; maximam gloriam in maximo Imperio putant rupere tædus impius lucri & ira præcept.

Gain,

BOOK III. *Gain, and the rash Heat of Anger, are the Disturbers of Peace, and Violators of Leagues and Treaties.*

19. *A just War, what.* Now, to make a War just, and in all Points what it ought to be, Three Things must concur: The *First*, That it be denounced, and undertaken, by a Person who hath the Power of making and proclaiming it; which can only be the Sovereign himself; or in Common-wealths, those who are invested with the Supream Authority, and whom the Law in that respect looks upon, but as one single Person.

20. *The Cause of the War should be just.* The *Second* is, That the Cause, upon which it is so denounced, be just; and such, without Dispute, is the Case of a Defensive War; the Light of Reason clearly and constantly pronounced in Favour of such a War, in the Judgment of all the wise and civiliz'd Part of Mankind; and Necessity supply'd the Place of Argument and Thought, and moved the Barbarous and Ignorant, to agree in the Justification of it too; Custom hath made this Opinion and Practice universal among Men; and Nature herself hath infus'd this Principle into Brutes. But then by Defensive, I mean, that which is truly and properly so; when Life or Liberty, one's Relations, or one's Country are assaulted. Nay, not only so, but a War is really Defensive, when begun in behalf of our Confederates and Allies, or to chastise Breach of Faith and former Treaties, or for the Protection and Redress of those that are oppressed grievously, and injuriously treated. For, it is the great *Roman* Orator's Judgment, That \* *He who does*

\* Qui non defendit, nec obstitit, si potest, injuriæ, tamen in vitio, quam si Parentes, aut Patriam, aut Socios deserat. *Cic. Lib. I. de Offic.*



## Of Prudence in Government.

III9

CHAP. III.

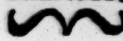
not defend the Injured, and as much as in him lies, prevent and ward off the Wrong, is as much in Blame as if he deserted Country or Kindred, Parents or Friends. So that Injury itself, without the Addition of any other Motive, is, and ought to be esteem'd Engagement sufficient for the employing our best Endeavours, to right and assist the Persons labouring under it. And accordingly we find St. *Ambrose* comprehending all these three Kinds of Defence, under the Character of Justice. *That Fortitude* \* (says he) is highly just and commendable, which by Force of Arms defends our Country from the Invasions of Enemies and Barbarians; or protects the Weak and Suffering, from those that are too mighty for them; or saves our Friends and Allies from Plunder, and Robbers. Another † Author brings the Matter into a narrower Compass still, and reduces it to these two Particulars, of Faith and Safety. *No War* (says he) is undertaken by a Righteous and Good Government, except either Breach of Covenant, or the Prospect of their own Danger provoke it.

Offensive War must likewise have Two Conditions to render it justifiable; the one is, that there be really some Offence given, and the Damage sustain'd, upon which the Quarrel can fairly be grounded; as in the Cases of Violence, and Outrage, and Usurpation: The *Second*, That Satisfaction and Restitution be first demanded, in the usual Manner and Solemnities; in which among the *Romans* a ‡ Herald

\* Fortitudo, quæ per bella tuetur à Barbaris Patriam; vel defendit infirmos; vel à latronibus Socios, plena Justitiæ est.

† Nullum bellum à Civitate optimâ suscipitur, nisi aut pro Fide, aut pro Salute. *Salust.*

‡ Post Clarigatum. *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXII. Cap. 2.*

CHAP. III.  was the proper Minister: For Force is the last Remedy, and ought never to be made use of, till the rest have been tried to no Purpose. And Justice cannot be duly sought this Way, till it hath been sought in softer and more amicable Methods, and deny'd. If the Aggressor will hearken to calm Reason, and submit to such Terms as are agreeable to it, there ought to be an End of the Controversy; but if he will be obstinate, and refuse to do this, then indeed War is just and allowable, because it becomes necessary, and the only possible Method left for redressing such Grievances, and preserving our own Rights. For *\*that is a just War which cannot be avoided; and those are righteous Arms which are taken up by Men, who have nothing less to trust to.*

The Third necessary Qualification for making a War just, is, that it be undertaken for a good End; and such is no other than the Peace and Security of a Nation. † *Wise Men* (says my Author) *wage War for the sake of Peace; and are content to sustain great Labour and Pains for the Prospect of Ease and Leisure, that so they may live quietly and secure themselves from Wrong.*

22.  
Prudence. After once the Justice of the Cause is taken care of, then, and not before, it is seasonable to consider of the Prudence of the Undertaking. And this Consideration consists in mature Deliberation, that a Prince may not run giddily on, and engage in Attempts which have no probable Prospect of Success: And therefore to prevent Heat and Rashness,

\* *Justum Bellum quibus necessarium; pia Arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes.*

† *Sapientis pacis causâ bellum gerunt; & laborem spe otii sustentant; ut in pace sine injuriâ vivant.*

it will be very convenient that these following Particulars should be very seriously weighed.

First, the Strength and Conveniencies on both sides; what the Aggressor, and what his Enemy is capable of.

Secondly, the Hazard and doubtful chance of Wars, the mighty and surprizing Revolutions of human Affairs; particularly the unaccountable Events of Engagements and Stratagems, which we see happen daily; and wherein, when the nicest Policy hath done its utmost, Providence hath still the chief Hand, and gives the finishing Stroke; for it is obvious to every Man's Observation, that what the World calls Fortune, cannot pretend to so absolute a Dominion in any one Instance, as in the Decisions of the Field. And accordingly we often see, that one Hour there turns the whole face of Affairs, and exalts or reduces a Prince to the very reverse of what he was an Hour ago. And therefore *Livy* hath observ'd very truly, that *\* the Glories and Laurels which have been the Acquisition, or the Expectations of a whole Life, are all blasted and withered by the Fortune of a single Hour; and he who thought himself sure of all, and stood actually possess'd of a great deal, the next Moment hath not so much as the Hope of any thing left to sustain him.*

The third Consideration necessary upon this Occasion is, that of the horrible Grievances and Hardships, the Calamities and Miseries, which War (supposing the very best of the Event, and final

\* Simul parta ac sperata decora unius horæ Fortuna evertere potest.



BOOK III. Determination) does unavoidably draw both upon the Publick in general, and private Persons in particular : And these indeed, when duly reflected upon, are such, that the very Thought alone is dismal, and full of Discouragement and Horror.

A Fourth Reflection, will concern the Slanders and Calumnies, the Reproaches and Curses, which are sure to light upon the Authors and first Beginners of any War. For the Misfortunes and Losses, which cannot but happen, will be sure to alienate the Affections, and provoke the Resentments, of those who suffer under them ; and they, when thus incensed, will not fail to express those Resentments, in a very plentiful and bitter Manner: For, from what hath been said already, we may easily be convinced, that nothing lies more exposed to the Tongues and Censures of the World than War : And whoever is the immediate Actor of the Mischief, the main Burden will be sure to fall upon the Principal. \* *This, says Tacitus, is the particular Hardship of War, that Men always make an unjust Division of Events ; all that succeeds well, every Man arrogates to himself ; but all the Miscarriages and Losses, every one shifts off from himself, and all agree to lay the Load at the principal Commanders Door only.* Those that fail in the Execution, blame them whose Business it is to give Orders ; and they who issue Orders, lay the Blame upon Negligence and Failure in the Execution ; and, at the last rebound, the Whole rests upon the Prince himself. Upon all the Accounts, the very

\* *Iniquissima Bellorum conditio hæc est ; Prospera omnes sibi vendicant, Adversa uni imputantur.*

## Of Prudence in Government. 1123

justest War, as St. *Augustine* says, is odious and detestable; and a Prince does very ill, and acts imprudently, when he engages in it, without extremely urgent Necessity; according to that Remark made upon *Augustus Cæsar*. And therefore Kings must not suffer themselves to be won over to it by those busy Incendiaries, that set the World on Fire, and desire to incense their Master with groundless Jealousies, or allure him with imaginary Conquest, merely to gratify some particular Passion of their own. \* *Men, who (as one describes them) think Peace a Burden, and to live at Ease, a perfect Slavery; of such Dispositions, that Nature seems to have cut them out for publick Disturbers; for they will neither be quiet themselves, nor content to let other People be so.* And yet these very Persons are commonly the most backward and dispirited, when once they come to the Action; they talk big, and take Towns, and beat whole Armies, and entertain themselves and others with the Pleasures and Advantages of a Camp, and the Love they have for fighting; but at last the old Proverb proves its own Truth, that † *War is pleasant to none, but those who have never tried it.* Now, a wise Prince will take the best Care he can, to keep and to promote the Peace of his Country; he will not be afraid of War on the one Hand, for this is mean and beneath his Courage: But then he will not provoke, nor draw it upon himself on the other Hand; for that is every whit as much unworthy of his Wisdom, and the Effect of Heat and Incon-

\* Quibus in Pace durius servitium est; in id nati, ut nec ipsi quiescant, neque alios finant.

† Duce bellum inexpertis.

Book III. sideration. For how rash, how unreasonable is it, to put his own or another Government into needless Combustions, to give so many Persons the uneasiness of a long and anxious Suspence between Hope and Fear; and to drive things to that desperate Push, that he must at last, either ruin other People, or be ruined himself?

23. The second Branch of this military Dispensation, I said, is carrying on the War. And for this, three things are necessary; Provision and Ammunition; Men: And Conduct, or Skill in the Rules of War. The first is Provision of things useful and necessary for the War, and that ought to be done early and in good Time. For it would be an intolerable Weakness and Reproach, to put off the Supplies, which ought constantly to be in readiness, till the very Instant that our Occasions call for the using of them. He that is to seek then, hath lost himself; for a \* *long Preparation is the surest Expedient to procure a speedy Victory*. Now, as for the Provisions requisite for the Honour and Safety of a Prince and his Government, in the usual and ordinary State of Affairs, there hath been enough said already, in the former part of this Chapter; and that belongs entirely to the Matter now before us. The principal Provisions and Strengthenings for War are three: *First*, Money; which is the very Life and Spirits, the Nerves and Sinews of War; as hath been already shewed at large. *Secondly*, Arms offensive and defensive, which have also been spoken to before: These two are of common Use, and what a Prince should always have plenty of in reserve. The third is Victuals; without which an

\* *Diu apparandum est, ut vincas celerius.*



Army can neither conquer, nor fight, nor live: If <sup>CHAP. III.</sup> this be wanting, Engagements are needless, for your Men are cut off without ever a Blow struck; and the Soldiers grow wild and unruly, and cannot possibly be kept under Government. \* *A hungry Army observes no Rules*; and Men ready to starve cannot be expected to perish in Obedience to Discipline. 'Tis true, I mention'd a Provision of Necessaries before; but that which I am now upon is a different Thing, and laid in on purpose for this extraordinary Occasion. One therefore of the earliest and most important Preparations for War, is, upon the first Thoughts or Motions towards any such Thing, to see that there be large and convenient Magazines, stor'd with all manner of Victuals, Corn, Salt-Meats, and other proper Sustenance, not only for the Army which takes the Field, but for the Garrisons upon the Frontiers; so much as may enable them to hold out a Siege, if the Enemy should find it for his Purpose to sit down before them, and so intercept all Supplies which should come to them from abroad.

The second Thing requisite for carrying on a <sup>24.</sup> War, is a competent Number of Hands, Men <sup>Men.</sup> fit to make, or to receive an Assault. And here we shall be obliged to distinguish between them: As first of all, between Private Soldiers, or those who are commonly said to carry Arms; and Officers, or Persons in Commission. The private Soldiers are the Body, the Officers the Head, or Life of the Army; that which inspires and directs every Motion, and by Virtue whereof they act. Now here, we will first of all consider the common Sol-

\* *Disciplinam non servat jejunos Exercitus.*

C c c c 3

diers

diers, who make the Bulk and main Substance of the Army: Of these there be several Sorts, some Foot, and others Horse; some Natives, others Foreigners; some the proper standing Force of the Government, others Auxiliary Troops, or such as are levied upon a particular Emergency. We shall do well to take a transient View of every one of these, and bestow the Pains of comparing them a little together; that so we may be satisfied which are best and most eligible: And then we will proceed farther to observe, what Methods are to be made use of for the directing and governing our Choice; and what lastly for the ordering and well-disposing them, when thus levied, and got together.

24.  
Men.

Now, the Judgments of Men have been very different in the first Branch of this Comparison: For some, and especially the barbarous and undisciplined Nations are much more for Horse than Foot; but others are generally of the quite contrary Opinion. Indeed it may with great reason be affirmed, that if both are considered simply, and absolutely, without any regard to particular Exigencies and Qualifications, Foot are the much better of the two, for they are of Service all along, and run through the whole Course of the War; no Place excludes them, no Action is atchieved without them. Whereas, the Horse are often useless; for in Mountains and rough Countries, and where the Defiles are very straight, and in the besieging and taking of Towns, they stand a General in very little stead. Foot are also more ready at Hand upon all Occasions; they cannot lie far out of Call; and, as their Attendance and Service is more, so the Expence of raising and maintaining them, is considerably less. The  
Subsistence

## Of Prudence in Government. 1127

Subsistence and Equipage of Horse is extremely chargeable; and even for that Action, where they are of most Advantage, flanking and galling the Enemy in Battel, if the Foot be well appointed, armed substantially, and skilful in their Business, they will stand the Shock, and maintain their Post very well. And accordingly, those who set up for Masters in this Art, usually give them the Preference. The Horse indeed are of greater Use in a pitch'd Battel, and for making quick Work. \* *For this (says one) is the Quality of Horse, that they soon get, or soon lose the Day.* The Foot, it is plain, cannot be so good at dispatch; nor can it be expected they should: But then they make amends another Way, and as they are the slower, so they are a great deal the surer of the two.

Nor do we find an entire Agreement of Opinions, concerning the next Article; whether Natives or Strangers are fittest to be made use of; tho' to me the Odds appear so very great, that I make no manner of Difficulty to give it on the Natives Side: For certainly, we may expect better Principles, and greater Fidelity from Home-born Subjects, than we can from Strangers, who are Soldiers of Fortune, and only fight for their Pay: They will endure more, be better contented, submit more quietly to Orders, carry themselves with more Respect to their Officers, use more Civility in Quarters, will think their Honour more concerned, and when they come to Action, shew more Courage in the Engagement, as they cannot but have a more affectionate and tender Regard to their own Country, for the De-

\* *Equestrum virium proprium est citò parare, citò cedere victoriam.*



BOOK III.

fence whereof they are engaged: Besides, the Publick saves more by them; they cost a great deal less, and are more ready at Hand than Auxiliaries from abroad. For Foreigners are very often mutinous and grumbling; and that sometimes, just when there is Occasion to make use of them: They commonly keep a great blustering, but have more Insolence and Vanity, than of real Service in them: They are generally troublesome, and a Burden to the Publick, cruel and oppressive to poor Country People, and fancy themselves licensed to plunder, as if it were an Enemy's Country, because it is none of their own. Then the Expence of transporting them backward and forward, the Voyages by Sea, or long Marches by Land, are a prodigious Charge. And, which is worst of all, their Motions are frequently so tedious, and their Delays so many, that Opportunities are lost, incredible Damage sustained, and the Season of Action quite spent, before they come up. This, I say, is very often the Case, and therefore where Natives are equally qualify'd in other respects, and there is no want of Hands, these are certainly fittest to be employed. But still this hinders not but that there may be Occasions, in which a Foreigner's Aid is advisable; and therefore this stating of the Comparison, is not to be look'd upon as a conclusive Rule, nor of any Force against Cases of Necessity, or particular Convenience: But even then, it will be for the Safety of a Prince, to take heed that the Strangers do not succeed those of his own Subjects; for though they may constitute a Part or Limb of the Army, yet they must by no means make up the main Body of it: For when once they feel themselves superior, or but an equal Match for the Natives,

Natives, there is Danger of their making use of such an Advantage, to subdue and make a Prey of their Masters that hired them. And History takes notice of this Trick being play'd so often, that no prudent Governor would run the Risque of it, or put such a Game into Strangers Hands. And a fair Game to be sure it is; for he that is Master of the Field, may be Master of all the Kingdom whenever he pleases. Again; if there be a Necessity for the Assistance of Strangers, let them be borrowed from our Allies and Confederates, whose Interests are interwoven with our own; and so whatever Damage one sustains, will affect both. Upon which Account we have reason to repose greater Confidence in their Fidelity, and to expect better Service, and more Zeal from them, than we can from mere Strangers, who have no Concern at all either with, or for us. To make such then, not one's Refuge, but one's Choice, and to multiply them to the Danger and Terror of one's own Subjects, is a Course fit for none but Tyrants; who because they use their Subjects ill, are afraid of them. They treat them as Enemies, and are sensible, how general a Hatred they have incurred; and therefore they dare not trust them, for fear they should have the Inclination to take it, when they are put into a Condition of Revenge; and turn those Swords upon their Master, which he taught them to use for his Defence, but hath provoked them to use for their own.

As for the Ordinary and Auxiliary Forces, a Prince will find Occasion for both Sorts. Now the Difference betwixt these Two is, that the former are but very few, they are constantly in Pay, and upon Duty, as well in Times of Peace as of War. And

27.  
Ordinary  
and Subsi-  
diary.

BOOK III. And of these therefore all that was necessary hath  
 ~~~~~ been delivered under the provisory Part of Civil  
 Prudence. These are People entirely destined to
 War, this is their whole Trade, and therefore they
 ought to be perfect Masters of it, dexterous in all
 Manner of Exercise, and resolute as well as skilful
 in handling their Arms. This is what the Moderns
 call the Standing-Forces of a Kingdom; the Prince's
 Honour in Peace, his main Protection in War, and
 much of the Nature with that Institution of the
 old *Roman* Legions. Now it will be convenient
 that these should be canton'd out by Regiments in
 Time of Peace, and quarter'd in very small Bodies,
 remote from one another, to prevent any Combina-
 tions among them, or the giving Disturbance to
 the Publick. The Auxiliaries, or extraordinary Force,
 are much more numerous indeed; but then they are
 not perpetual, nor devoted to War and nothing
 else: They have other Professions to subsist upon;
 and these they follow, till the Service and Necessi-
 ties of their Country draw them off: When this
 happens, and there is Occasion for their Assistance,
 they are called in by Beat of Drum, listed and
 muster'd, led on, and taught their Military Exercises:
 And when the Service is over, their Business is
 so too; they are dismiss'd again, return to their
 Trades, and work to maintain their Families at home.

28. You have now heard the Differences and Dif-
 ~~~~~  
 Choice of distinctions between Men of Arms; the next thing  
 Men. that requires good Advice and Direction, is the  
 Choice of them: And this in truth is of mighty  
 Consequence, and will ask great Prudence and  
 Care. It signifies but very little to draw together  
 so many thousand Men; for Armies are not to be  
 valued



valued by Tale; nor does Victory attend upon the greatest Numbers, but the bravest Fellows: And commonly, that Part which turns the Day, and is in the hottest of the Action, consists but of a few Squadrons in comparison: A wild tumultuous Rout does more hurt than good. \* *It is not a Strengthening, but a Burden; and deserves rather to be called the heavy Baggage, that retard a Prince's March, than a Relief or Protection to him.* So perfectly insignificant are Multitudes void of Courage; and † *The Goodness of the Hearts and Hands is a better Security than the exorbitant Length of a Muster-Roll.* And thus you see, how great, and how fatal an Error it is, for Commanders to press or pick up the next Men they meet, or hire them at so much a Month, without any distinction: Whereas they ought to be nice and curious in making this Collection. And, as its always the Reproach, so it sometimes proves the Destruction of a Nation, to have an Army composed of the next Chance-Comers, perfectly ignorant of the thing they undertake; the Sweepings of Goals, the Scum of the Nation, Lewd and Vicious to the last Degree, Bullies and Braggadochio's, bold in Plunder, when no Enemy is in sight, but timorous and swift of Foot as soon as Danger makes its Appearance. Or if you please, take that anti-ent Description. ‡ *Men trained to no part of War*

\* Non vires habet, sed pondus; potius impedimentum quam auxilium.

† Manibus opus est bello, no nominibus.

‡ Assueti latrocinii bellorum; insolentes, galeati Lepores; Purgamenta urbium, quibus ob egestatem & flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo.

but

BOOK III. *but the Rapine and Robbery of it ; insolent and big;  
 ~~~~~ the Dirt and Dregs of the Town; Rake-hells, whom  
 Want and Wickedness hath brought intimately ac-
 quainted with Debauchery, and made exquisite in Im-
 pudence and Villainy of every kind.*

29. Now in order to making a good Choice, the Ends they are to serve ought to be duly consider'd; which will require some Judgment and Application of Mind. And to do this effectually, and with Address, Five things ought to be taken into our regard.

*First, The Place of their Nativity and Dwelling, and the Manner of their Education suitable to it: For they should be taken principally out of the Country, from mountainous, barren, and rugged Situations, or else from Sea-Coasts; in all which Places People are usually brought up to all sorts of Labour and hard Fare. So says Vegetius, *The Levies ought chiefly to be made out of the Country; for such Men will be a Strength indeed : They are fitter to bear Arms, after being accustomed to endure all manner of Weather, and to live by Drudgery. Their very Soil and Climate hardens and gives them Courage. And the less easy and delightful any Man's Life hath been, the less he will be afraid to die. But now your People in Cities and great Towns are more nice and tender ; they run to cool and artificial Shades, and know not what it is to endure either a scorching Sun, or a cold Winter Blast. Profit and Pleasure are all they are intent upon; and this makes them soft, and idle, and effeminate.*

* Ex Agris suppleendum præcipuè robur exercitûs ; aptior Armis Rustica plebs, sub dio & in laboribus enutrita ; ipso terræ suæ solo & cœlo acrius animantur.

* *Bred*

* Bred up by their own Fire-side, and good for nothing; used to Delicacy and Luxury; slothful, and incapable of any laborious Undertaking, or hardy Usage.

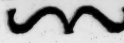
Secondly, The Age of the Man is of great consequence; for the best Season of taking them is in their Youth; about eighteen or twenty Years old, when they have not only Vigour and Strength, but are teachable and pliant, fit to learn, as well as able to perform their Duty. For Vice and Stubbornness grows upon them with Years: There is scarce any reforming old Fellows; the bad Habits of their former Days stick by them; and besides, they are so Head-strong and Self-conceited, that it is next to impossible to bend them to Instruction and Discipline.

A Third Consideration is their Body; which, according to the Opinion of some, ought to be very tall; and thus *Marius* and *Pyrrhus* particularly desired their Soldiers. But the Stature does not seem to be of that mighty Importance; for a moderate Size will do very well, provided the Body be dry and firm, vigorous and strong: So says *Tacitus*, † *Their Bodies should be clean, and well set, their Limbs tight, their Countenance stern; for these are good Indications of a Qualification most requisite of all, a brisk and courageous Mind.* Your huge, over-grown, fat, flabby Fellows, with loose and watery Bodies, are good for nothing at all.

In the Fourth Place, they should look out for Men of lively Tempers, brave and resolute Spirits,

* Vernacula multitudo, lascivix sueta, laborum intolerans.

† Dura corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, major animi vigor.

BOOK III.  bold and daring, and valuing themselves upon their Abilities; such as are greedy of Praise; impatient to be out-done, and afraid of nothing so much as Dishonour and Reproach.

Lastly, Their Condition is likewise of very great Consequence: For those that are the very Lees and Dregs of the People, of a scandalous Character, or brought up in Lewdness and Infamy; or such as have follow'd lazy and sedentary Trades, or never knew any Business but following Pleasures and Women: In a Word, all manner of sauntering and disgraceful Professions, render a Man extremely unfit for this, which must engage him in Activity, and all manner of Hardship.

^{30.}
Discipline. The next Thing after making a good Choice of proper Men for our Purpose, is to qualify them for Service by good Discipline: For it is by no means enough, that Persons capable of making good Soldiers are procur'd, if that Capacity be not improv'd, and they actually made such; and to as little effect is it, that they are once made so, except they be kept so by habitual Practice afterwards. There are but very few Men in the World, who are valiant meerly from Nature and Disposition; for, generally speaking, Courage is owing to Instruction and Art, to Custom and Discipline. And these Things are of so exceeding great Importance in War, that the Uses and Advantage of them are never to be express'd. Good Discipline is really all in all: It is to this, that old *Rome* was indebted for all her Glories; this secur'd and enlarg'd her Conquests, and made her Mistress of the World; all which that People were so sensible of, that no one Virtue whatsoever, nor even natural Affection to their own Children,

dren, was reputed more necessary, or had in higher Esteem. Now the main Point of Discipline is Obedience; and that old Rule expresses this Matter very truly and well, which says, that a Soldier ought always to be more afraid of his Officer than his Enemy.

Now, there are two great Ends, which this Discipline should aim at, which are, making good Soldiers, and good Men; and consequently, it must needs consist of two Parts; one of which respects the Valour, the other the Virtue or Manners of the Persons concern'd to be kept under it. For the promoting of Valour, and perfecting them in the Business of their Profession, three Things are expedient.

First, Constant exercising them in the handling of their Arms, which ought to be the repeated Work of every Day, and never intermitted at all. And this is so essential to the very Being of an Army, that the *Latin* Tongue calls it by a Name which signifies *Exercise*. Now this is properly instructing them how to handle their Arms, and be expert in the Use of them upon all Occasions; to prepare for, and by just Degrees advance to Action; to shoot and draw regularly upon their Enemy; to make the best of any defensive Weapons they are provided with for themselves; to shew them distinctly every thing that is likely to happen in the midst of an Engagement; to bring them acquainted with Trials of that Kind; and train them as in Form and Heat of Battel: And, lastly, to propose Rewards and Honour to them that excel, and are most dexterous; by that Means to quicken their Diligence, and warm their Ambition.

Secondly,

BOOK III.

Secondly, Hard Labour, which is of great Benefit for inuring them to Pain or Toil, and Sweat, and Dust: For * *An Army improves and grows more vigorous by Labour, but languishes and decays by Sloth and want of Employment.* It also does good Service toward the Security of the Army, in the fortifying of their Camp, and Dispatch of Intrenchment. And therefore they should be taught to break Ground, and cast up well; to plant regular Palisadoes, to raise stout Baricadoes; to run, and fetch, and carry heavy Burdens; for all these Things are highly necessary, both to cover their own Lines, and defend themselves; and likewise for the pressing upon, and enclosing an Enemy.

The *Third* Thing they are to be instructed in, and accustom'd to, is exact Order; which as it is of infinite Use, so is it likewise of different Sorts, according to the different Posture of Affairs, and Exigencies of War. *First*, it may be consider'd with regard to the ranging and distributing of the Troops, cantoning them out, either into Battalions, or Regiments, or Standards, or Companies. *Secondly*, in the Disposition of the Camp; that due Distances and Proportions be observ'd in the several Quarters; that its Avenues, Outlets, and Lodgment be conveniently order'd for Horse and Foot; so that it shall be easy for every one to find his own Quarters, and proper Post. *Thirdly*, in Motions and Marches, whether only from Place to Place thro' the Country, or to front an Enemy; and here they are to be taught to keep their Ranks, to move equally, and at just Distances from each other, so as neither to go loose and too far off, nor too close and

* Exercitus Labore proficit, Otio consenescit.

crowded

crowded together. All this Order is highly necessary, and is of great use in several Respects. It adds much to the Beauty of an Army; is entertaining and marvellous delightful to all that see and observe it; it cheers our Friends, and animates them strangely; confounds our Enemies, emboldens and inspires the Soldiers themselves with Security, and exceedingly facilitates all their Motions; and the obeying any Orders that shall be given by their Generals. For by this means the Word is no sooner given, but, without any Noise or Confusion in the World, it is convey'd from one to another, and the meanest most private Man presently understands the Mind of his supream Officer. * *All the Forces receive their Leader's Command at once, and in an Instant, with all the Order and Composdness imaginable, attend and execute the least Significations of his Pleasure.* In a Word, When Orders are well observ'd, they almost make an Army invincible. And on the other Hand, a great many Instances have happen'd, of Armies much superior in Number and Strength, and all other Advantages which have been entirely routed and cut to Pieces, meerly for want of Discipline, and knowing how to transmit and obey Orders readily.

The Second Part of Military Discipline concerns the Regulation of Manners; which naturally, and for the most Part, are scandalously dissolute and extravagant, and to the Reformation of which a Camp brings greater Obstructions than any other Place or Condition of human Life: † *It is not easy for Men*

* Imperium Ducis simul omnes Copiæ sentiunt: & ad nuntium regentis sine tumultu respondent.

† Assidue dimicantibus difficile Morum custodire mensuram.

BOOK III. *that are engag'd every Day in Blows and Blood, to keep a just Temper, and strict Virtue.* But yet how difficult soever the bringing them to this be, it is necessary to be attempted, and ought to be taken Pains in; and especially all possible Diligence must be us'd to establish Three Virtues among them.

The First is Continence, in the larger and more comprehensive Sense of the Word, as it is oppos'd to Excesses and Sensualities of all Sorts; Gluttony, Drunkenness, Debauchery with Women, and every other kind of Pleasure, that is lewd and scandalous: All which are most unfit for Men of this Profession; because such Practices do manifestly debase the Courage, and enfeeble both the Body and Mind of the Soldier. * *For Men of Arms* (says Tacitus) *presently degenerate from their primitive Vigour, and grow soft and tame, by abandoning themselves to Pleasure.* And Hannibal stands upon record, a scandalous Monument of a General, whom one Winter's Luxury perfectly melted down into Effeminacy, and made that great Man, who conquer'd all before him, and was invincible by Arms, a Captive and Conquest to his own Vices.

A Second necessary Virtue is Modesty. In Conversation first, and Words; free from Vanity and Boasting, and big blustering Talk. For Courage exercises the Hands, and not the Tongue; and seeks its Praise, not from fine Speeches, but brave Actions. † Men that are dispos'd for War, are great

* *Degenerat à robore ac virtute miles assuetudine voluptatum.*

† *Viri nati Militiæ Factis magni, ad Verborum Linguae certamina rudes. Discrimen ipsum certaminis differt. Viri fortes in opere acres, ante id placidi Verbis, Lingua feroces. Plin.*

Of Prudence in Government. II39

in Deeds, but unskill'd in Dispute of Words; for CHAP. III.
indeed these Engagements are of very different kinds: A stout and truly brave Man is not forward to come to Action, but eager and violent in it, calm and compos'd till he come to it. On the other Hand, your great Talkers are good for nothing, and are only valiant in Words, as one hath very truly represented them. Now the Tongue is the Instrument of Counsels, as the Hand is of Action. But then there is a Modesty in Deeds and Behaviour too, by which I mean a ready and entire Obedience, without any trifling, or delaying, or disputing the Commands of his Superiors, and pretending to be wiser than they. For * *These* (says one) *are the Properties of good Soldiers, to be ready and willing, respectful and obedient.*

The Third Virtue is Abstinence: By which Soldiers would learn Honesty and Contentedness, and keep their Hands clean from all manner of Rapine and Violence; and not (as too frequently happens) turn Robbers and common Ravagers, and make every thing a Prey that comes within their reach. This, in short, is the Substance of Military Discipline, to which a General must give Force and Authority, by Largesses and Rewards, bountifully scattered among those that are tractable and valiant, and deserving; and by severe and exemplary Punishments inflicted upon the Refractory, and Idle, and Negligent. For Indulgence in an Army, is the Ruin of the Soldiery.

What hath been said already may suffice for private Soldiers; and therefore the little I shall add 33.
more concerns the Officers; who are of so great Of the Commanders.

* *Hæc sunt bonæ Militæ, Velle, Verere, Obedire.*

D d d d z

Consequence,

Book III. Consequence, that their Soldiers can do nothing without them. For it is then no longer an Army but a Rabble ; a Body without a Soul ; a Ship with Sails indeed to move, but no Helm to steer, no Pilot to direct it. Of these there are two Sorts. The General, who is the Supream, and then the Subalterns ; such as Lieutenant and Major-Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, and so down. But the General is all in all ; and he can be but one, upon Peril of Confusion, and losing all. Hence it is, that we commonly say, an Army is considerable in proportion as the General is so ; * *That he is worth all the rest* ; more account to be made, more depending upon him ; more Hope, or more Distrust and Fear upon his Account, than the whole Body under his Direction. Now this General is either the Prince in Person, or some Person of Eminence for Prowess and Conduct, chosen and commission'd by him. The Presence of the Prince himself is of mighty Moment and Efficacy toward the obtaining a Victory ; for it provokes the Emulation, and inflames the Courage of his Subjects ; and indeed, when the Preservation of the Government, or any part of his Dominions, is the occasion of the War, his Personal Appearance seems highly expedient and necessary. In Disputes of less Consequence, it may well enough be dispensed with : For so *Tacitus* advises, That † *Monarchs will not ordinarily expose their Persons to the common Hazards of War ; but reserve themselves for the more important Concern of the Government, and stay till Extremity calls them into the Field.*

* Plus in Duce repones, quam in Exercitu. *Tacit.*

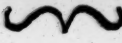
† Dubiis Præliorum exemptus, summæ Rerum & Imperii seipsum reservet. *Tacit.*

Of Prudence in Government. 1141

But be the General who, or of what Character he CHAP. III.
will, a good one he cannot be, without the following Qualifications. First, Knowledge and Experience in the Art of War; one that hath seen and felt the different Events of War; * acquainted with Conquest and Defeat, the Successes and the doubtful Chances of the Field; and neither to be exalted with the one, nor dejected and dispirited with the other. Secondly, Caution and provident Care; and consequently a Man of sound substantial Sense, cool and strong Thought, weighed and steady Resolution, free from Heat and Rashness, and eager Haste; which is not only an Argument of Folly, but the Cause of infinite Misfortunes, and irreparable Calamities. For false Steps in War are hard to be recovered, and a Man may not have the † *Opportunity of playing the Fool twice*. For which reason we commonly say, *A General should rather look behind him than before him; and be more solicitous to secure what he hath already, than eager of getting more to it, at the Hazard of the Whole*. A Third is Vigilance and Activity, winning upon the Soldiers by imposing Labour and Hardship upon himself, and by his own Example going before, and leading them on to every thing he would have them do. A Fourth is good Success. Men indeed are not, cannot be fortunate as they please: This is a peculiar and immediate Gift of Heaven; but yet the Divine Providence does usually give Success to probable Means and Endeavours; and where the

* *Secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens, eoque intentus. Tacit.*

† *Non licet in Bello is peccare----Ducem oportet potius Respicere quam Perspicere.*

BOOK. III.  three former good Qualities meet, this is very seldom wanting to crown them. In the mean while, it ought not to seem strange that I give this a Place here among the other Accomplishments, though it be not so directly within a Man's own Power to acquire it: For every Body knows what prodigious Effects the Persuasion of a lucky Commander produces; and how much more bold, and daring, and assured those Men are, who have a Confidence in the Fortune of their General, and fight under one who hath been accustomed to conquer.

^{13.}
Advice for Action. Having now done with those Considerations which relate to necessary Provision of Ammunition and Men, we will proceed to the Rules and Directions proper to be observ'd in the making use of both these. This Third Point is of infinite Consequence; and the only thing that can render either of the former so; for Strength and Numbers, Arms and Men, are but empty and imaginary Things without it. There must be Art and Address, and not only Instruments, but Skill to work with them. For * *Counsel and Wisdom achieves more and greater Exploits than Force.* But it must be confessed, † that to lay down such Rules as shall be standing, and eternally suitable to every Case and Circumstance, is absolutely impossible. Because these depend upon a vast variety of Accidents and Occurrences; all which must be taken into Consideration; and the Person will be oblig'd to comply with, and accommodate himself to them. And upon this Account it was ingeniously observ'd, that Men did not so properly guide

* Plura Consilio quam Vi perficiuntur.

† Consilium in Arenâ.

their Affairs by Counsels, as their Affairs guide and determine them: That a Man must make War by his Eye; that is, he must observe and act upon Discretion; and the wisest J unto that ever sat, cannot be so proper Judges at a distance, of what is to be done, as he who sees, and must take his Measures upon the Spot. For there are a Thousand unforeseen Emergencies, which change the whole Scene, and put a new surprizing Face upon the Matter; and consequently require that a Man should steer a new Course, and govern himself accordingly. But however, tho' we cannot be so particular and full, but that large Reserves must be made for discretionary Proceedings; yet there are some Methods so general, and so fix'd, that no Man can be mistaken in observing them; nor can any considerate Author, who treats of this Subject, overlook them. Some few of these I shall briefly represent to my Reader here, and leave it to him from his own Observation or Experience, to add more, as he shall see Occasion. Now of these there are two Sorts: Some of constant use throughout the whole Course of the War: Others accidental and occasional only, as Times, or Places, or other Circumstances shall happen to make them seasonable. I begin with the former Sort.

The first of these is watching all Opportunities with the utmost Diligence and Circumspection; securing all that offer, that none slip by unprofitably; and at the same time preventing and countermining the Enemy, that he shall have no Benefit by those that are put into his Hands. For Opportunity hath a large Run, a mighty Stroke in all Affairs of hu-
man

man Life, and more especially in War; where one lucky Hit does more sometimes, than all the Hands and Heads of a Kingdom put together.

II. The Second is, making his advantage of Reports; for be they true or false, they are capable of doing great Service, and especially while they are fresh and warm. * *Common Fame begins, continues, ends Wars; exalts Men's Minds with assured Hopes, dejects them with panick Fears.* They fight as the News goes; and many a Field hath been lost and won, by Virtue of a current Rumor; which, tho' so powerful in its Effects, had yet perhaps little or no Foundation to stand upon it self. This last Advice chiefly regards a Man as yet unsettled in his Measures: But when the Scheme is laid, and he is not only determin'd so much as in those Circumstances one can, but hath entred upon his Designs.

III. Then my Third Direction is, not to trouble himself about any such Rumours. He will do well indeed to get well inform'd, and to consider of them carefully; but still to proceed in his own Methods. To do what he is able, and what in Duty and Decency he is obliged to; what Reason prescribes, and there to rest; and expect the Event, as a wise and a brave Man should do.

IV. But above all, let him in the Fourth Place, take heed of being too confident and secure; for this will lead him into infinite Mistakes and Inconveniences, perhaps never to be retriev'd. A Man thinks meanly of his Enemy, as if he were despicable, and not worth his Care; and this betrays him to Negligence, and Thoughtlessness, and Sloth. Now,

* *Fama bella constant, fama bellum conficit, in spem metumve impellit animos.*

This

This is the most dangerous and destructive Condition that a State of War is capable of. For who-
ever despises his enemy, does most certainly expose
and betray himself, and give that so despised Enemy
an Advantage, which, if no other Consideration did,
would singly render him extremely formidable.

CHAP III.

** Security is usually the Forerunner and Occasion of great Distress. No Body is so quickly defeated, as the Man that is under no Apprehension of Danger. Nothing in an Enemy can be despised with safety; for even that Carelessness, which naturally springs from Contempt, gives him more Power to do you Mischief. These Reflections are true in their most general Sense; but in War nothing ought to be despised; because there nothing is, or can be frivolous enough to justify or deserve it; for it often happens, that what we look upon to be very small and inconsiderable in it self, is yet fruitful in great variety of Consequences, and even prodigious Effects. † Small Motions are often followed by monstrous Events; and therefore as nothing of this kind ought to perplex us with anxious Fears of it, so neither ought anything to lull us asleep with the Slight of it, as not worth our Notice and Care.*

Fifthly, he ought to be extremely curious, and inquisitive into the Condition of his Enemy, and the Posture of his Affairs; particularly, he should be sure to get certain Information of the following Points. The Temper and Complexion, the Inclination and Designs of the Commander in chief; the Tem-

V.

** Frequentissimum initium Calamitatis, Securitas. Nemo celerius opprimitur, quam qui non timet. Nil tutò in hoste despicitur. Quem spreveris, valentiorẽ negligentia facies.*

† Sæpe parvis momentis magni casus; ut nil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi.

per

BOOK III. per of the People and Army under him; what their
 Manners are, and in what way they live; the Situation of the Places, and Condition of the Country all round about his Camp; and where either the Scene of Action, or any Motions of his Army may probably be. And this was *Hannibal's* peculiar Excellence.

35. VI. As for Engagement and Action it self, several
 things must be taken into Consideration; the Time, the Place, the Persons against whom, the Manner how a Man engages. Otherwise it may be as unsuccessful as it is an ill-advis'd Attempt. A Battel ought never to be hazarded, but upon great Deliberation, and very pressing Reasons to perswade it. Any other Method less hazarded, is rather to be chosen; He should try to break and tire out his Enemy; to harraß him with long Marches; to batter him with tedious Encampments; with incommo- dious Places; with want of Provision, and other Conveniencies. In short, to beat him any other way, rather than by Dint of Sword. * *For the Chance of War is extreemly dangerous and uncertain: One Moment turns the Scales, routs and overthrows the victorious in the midst of Joy and Plunder, and carries the just before beaten and despairing, triumphant out of the Field.*

VII. A General must never let Matters come to this
 The Time. Extremity, except it be very seldom: That is to say, when absolute Necessity compels, or some great Occasion persuades him to it. The Cases of Necessity are such as these; when you feel Difficulties grow upon you daily; when you are reduced

* Incerti Exitus pugnarum. Mars communis, qui sæpe spoliantem & jam exultantem evertit, & perculit ab abjecto.
 to

to want of Provision; when Money runs low, and no Supplies can be had; when your Soldiers grow discontented, and desert apace. In such Circumstances there is no subsisting long; and therefore *a desperate Disease must have a desperate Cure*; for you can but perish either way. For the Occasions which may render it advisable, I reckon the manifest Odds of Strength on your side, either in Numbers, or in other Qualifications superior to the Enemy; when Victory seems to invite, and stretch out her Hand on purpose to be receiv'd and embrac'd; when the Enemy is at present considerably weakened by some Detachment, or otherwise; or not yet fully join'd; but expects in a very short time to be compleated or reinforced, and will then bid you Battel: When you have it in your Power to surprize them, and they imagine you are at a Distance, and incapable of reaching them: When he is harass'd, or taking Refreshment: When he is divided, and Parties are out Petrolling, or upon Booty; busy in victualing their Camp, or their Horses forc'd to be stabl'd up at a Distance, and feed upon dry Meat, for want of Forage near their Camp.

The Place of Engagement deserves also to be very diligently consider'd; this being of very great Importance in Action. One may venture to say in general, that it is by no means prudent to wait for the Enemy in your own Country; his Entrance thither should, if possible, be prevented; and you ought either to advance and meet him, so as to make his Territories the Seat of War; or else to secure your own Passes, and stop him at his Approach. But if he have already vanquished

VIII.
Place.

BOOK III. quished that Difficulty, and got Footing; it is by no means advisable to run the Risque of a Battel, except you have another Army in reserve to sustain and recruit you speedily. For this would be to play a desperate Game, and to stake all upon one single Throw. But when Matters draw toward an Engagement, the Ground ought to be well viewed, and prudently chosen; and as you find it for your own, or your Enemies Convenience, you must manage your self accordingly: For the Ground itself is a very great, and sometimes almost an insuperable Advantage. Now a plain open Country is most convenient for the Horse, because this gives them Room to wheel and scour in; but your narrow Defiles, and Places full of Bogs, Morasses, Ditches and Trees, are most favourable to the Foot, because these give no Opportunity to the Cavalry to break in and flank them.

IX. A General must also be careful with whom he engages, and never venture a Battel with an Enemy stronger than himself. Now, this Strength is not always to be measured by Numbers; but by the Courage and Resolution of the Men. And nothing makes Men so valiant as Necessity; because this is almost an invincible Enemy; and therefore the Stress of it awakens all our Powers to make Opposition. Upon this Account it is a good Rule, never to fight with Men reduced to desperate Circumstances, but rather to put an Opportunity into their Hands of being upon better Terms with you. And this agrees exactly with the Counsel given in the former Paragraph, of not hazarding an Engagement in one's own Country; because

Of Prudence in Government.

1149

because the Enemy must then be forc'd to make a desperate and bloody Business of it; as being sensible, that if he happen to be worsted, there is no avoiding of utter Ruin. No Fort to protect, no Retreat to receive, no fresh Succours to relieve and sustain them, and so nothing in Prospect but certain Victory, or certain Death. *

CHAP. III.

As for the Manner of engaging, that is certainly the best, which is most advantageous, and likely to succeed; whether Surprise, or Stratagem, or making a Feint; pretending to retreat for Fear, to draw the Enemy out of a good Post, or into an Ambuscade, and take them in a Trap. Thus † *the Expectation of Victory is the very Instrument made use of to work their Overtbrow*; watching all their Motions narrowly, taking Advantages of every false Step; and charging them when and where they are least in a Condition to receive the Attack.

X.

Manners.

For the due Management of a formal and ranged Battel, these following things are very expedient. The first, and indeed the principal, is a regular Disposition of one's Men, and marshalling every part of the Army in their proper Place and Order. A Reinforcement, Secondly, constantly ready, so near at Hand, that they may pour in upon the least Notice; and yet so much under Cover, that the Enemy may not discern, or be at all aware of any such Thing, till they are actually upon them. And tho' this Reserve be not very considerable in it self, yet the Effects of them will be so; for in a Hurry there is nothing so ridicu-

36.

Form'd
Battels.

* Unde necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex Victoriâ.

† Spe Victoriæ inducere, ut vincatur.

Book III. lous and despicable, but it is able to create or increase our Confusion. And * *in all Engagements the Conquest is first gain'd upon the Eyes and Ears*; for when once their Senses are struck, and make a Report full of Terror, the Heart fails, the Hands grow faint and feeble, and all is our own. A Third usual Direction is, To be first in the Field, and stand ready in Form of Battel. This gains Time, and gives a Commander Leisure to do what he sees fit, with Deliberation and Ease; it likewise animates our own Men, and discourages the Enemy, who measures our Assurance by our Forwardness. Besides, this is to make our selves the Aggressors, and the first Blow is commonly given with more Spirit and Resolution, than it is received. A Fourth Expedient is, a becoming, bold, brave, and resolute Aspect in the General and the rest of the Commanders; when their Countenances do not only speak their own Courage, but inspire and animate those that want it. The Fifth and Last, is a seasonable and pertinent Exhortation to the Soldiers; encouraging them to do well, representing to them, the Glory, the Advantages, nay, the Safety of behaving themselves gallantly; that Infamy, and Reproach, Danger and Death, are the certain Portion and Fate of Cowards. For † *the less Fear the less Danger always: Courage is its own Defence; and the readiest way to escape Death, is boldly to face, and generously to despise it.* He that runs, hastens to his own Destruction;

* Primi in omnibus Præliis vincuntur Oculi & Aures.

† Minus Timoris, minus Periculi; audaciam pro muro esse: Effugere mortem, qui eam contemnit.

Of Prudence in Governmen..

II51

and for one that falls in the Heat of Action, there are Ten cut to Pieces in the Flight. CHAP. III.

When once the Armies are engaged, the General is to observe on which Side the Advantage inclines; and if he find his own Party give Ground, he is then to act the Part of a firm undaunted Mind; to do all that can be expected from a resolute Officer, and a gallant Soldier. To rally them again; lead them on in Person, and bring them out of their Confusion; stop them in their Retreat; throw himself into the midst of them; hearten and encourage them to a second Shock, by all manner of means; and in his whole Behaviour to give evident Demonstration, both to the Enemy and his Soldiers, of his own Bravery, and Presence of Mind; that his Head, his Hands, his Tongue are free from Fear and Confusion, and serve him for proper Orders, and vigorous Action, with all imaginable Readiness and Address.

If his own Side be Superiour, and the Fortune of the Field rest there, his Duty is to repress, and check their Eagerness; to prevent their Scattering and Disorder, by too fierce and obstinate a Pursuit. For in this Case, he ought to be apprehensive of a Turn, which hath often happened; that the vanquished may take Heart again when they feel themselves hard press'd; and by making a desperate Push, rally upon, and rout their Conquerors. For Necessity is a furious Mistress, and puts Men upon very violent Methods. ** When Men are surrounded with Death, Despair emboldens them; and after Hope is lost, Cowards turn stout,*

** Clausis ex desperatione crescit Audacia; & cum Spei nihil est, sumit arma Formido.*

and

and Fear itself takes up Arms. Rather therefore let him open a Passage, and facilitate their Flight; but least of all must he suffer his Men to fall upon the Booty, and while they are employ'd in rifling, and all in Disorder, endanger the being made a Prey themselves. Victory, when obtain'd, must be used with Moderation and Prudence; for Victory it self is not always safe; if it be stained with Barbarity and brutish Usage, and put the Enemy out of all Hope, it may turn to very ill Account, and add to our Danger. For * *Necessity and ill Treatment give an Edge to the dullest Soul; even Despair sometimes produces Hope; and no Bite is so keen as that, when Extremity is provoked and makes her Teeth meet.* On the other Hand, as it is more human, so it is really more advisable and safe, to use a beaten Foe gently; to leave room for Hope, and encourage Overtures of Peace; not to ravage his Country, nor to make Havock and Desolation, wheresoever we come. For Rage and Fury are very fierce and dangerous wild Beasts; and therefore we should take care not to let them loose. A wise General will likewise behave himself with Temper and Modesty upon his Successes; for Insolence is most unbecoming a Man conversant in War; most absurd in one, who cannot but have been upon that Account acquainted with the Inconstancy of Fortune; and ought to remember its Ebbings and Flowings, how quickly it rolls over to another Shore; how strange those Revolutions are, by which Prosperity sometimes takes its Rise out of extream Adversity; and on

* Ignaviam Necessitas acuit; sæpe Desperatio spei causâ est. Gravissimi sunt morius irritatæ necessitatis,

the contrary, final Ruin begins at great, good Fortune. That some Men are drown'd with two Foot of Water, and lost when they esteem themselves most safe. That more die of Surfeits, than of Hunger; and some have * *not Stomachs strong enough to digest a plentiful Meal of Happiness.* That Fortune is perfect Glass, and aptest to be broken when it is clearest and finest. And therefore all Confidence in it is faithless and unsafe; and the Conqueror frequently taken Captive in the midst of Security and Triumph.

If you are beaten, it is an Instance of Wisdom to know it; to examine well your Circumstances, and consider what your Loss is. And never think to stifle your Misfortune, or fancy that this is nothing, all will be well again, and nobody know it; for such Hopes are trifling and vain; and the Contrivance of suppressing the News of your Defeat is childish and ridiculous. 'Tis only to commit the carrying of it to uncertain Rumours, which represent nothing truly, and will make the Matter ten times worse. You must therefore apply your self to a full and serious Consideration of the Case; for how will you ever be able to find out a Cure, if you do not first search to the Bottom of your Disease? After this, it will become his Courage to entertain better Hopes, to refresh his Forces with all imaginable Diligence; to call in fresh Succours, and make new Levies; and put good sufficient Garrisons into all his Places of Strength. And after all, if Providence be still contrary, as indeed sometimes it is so far from

* Magnam Felicitatem concoquere non possunt. Fortuna vitrea est, tunc cum splendet, frangitur. O infidam Fiduciam! & sæpe Victor victus.

seeing fit to prosper, that one would almost imagine it perfectly sets its self against the justest Arms, and most commendable Undertakings, there is always one Remedy left; for no Man can be denied the Privilege of lying down in the Bed of Honour: And sure, a decent and reputable Death is much rather to be chosen, than a Life of Contempt and Reproach.

38.

And thus we have gone through the second Head of this Subject concerning military Matters, excepting only, that there is one Objection arising upon it, which some scrupulous People may think necessary to be resolved. And that is, whether Subtily and Deceit, Feints and Stratagems are absolutely against them, and decry them in all Cases whatsoever. They tell you no Circumstances can justify a Practice so contrary to Virtue and Truth, and unworthy Men of Honour and Conscience; and therefore that Remark of *Virgil's* will by no Means go down with them.

* *Courage and Cunning both, the Laurels claim,
A Foe is privileg'd; that very Name
Protects Deceit and Stratagem from Shame.* }

We find *Alexander the Great* so exceeding nice in his Punctilio, that he would not so much as take the Advantage of a dark Night, but declared, he scorn'd a stollen Victory. † *I had rather have Occasion to be sorry for my ill Fortune, than to be ashamed for my Success.* Of the same generous Temper were the old *Romans*; They sent back the Schoolmaster of the *Falisci*, who proffered to betray them;

* *Dolus, an Virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

† *Malo me Fortunæ pigeat, quam Victoriæ pudeat.*

and

Of Prudence in Government. 1155

and the treacherous Physician to *Pyrrhus*, who was ready to poison him. They always pretended to Virtue and down-right Honesty, dealt fairly and above-board, disclaim'd and discountenanced all their own Country-men, who gave themselves a Liberty of doing otherwise; reproached the *Greeks* and *Africans* with Breach of Faith; and turned their Craft and Cunning into a Taunt and a Proverb.

* They made it a Principle, that those only are Conquests indeed, which are gained by Dint of Courage, by honest and just Methods, and such as cast no Blemish upon the Conqueror's Honour: But as for those which are the Acquisition of Subtilty and Stratagem, they are neither generous, nor reputable, nor safe, nor lasting. For those who are beaten upon these Terms, do not look upon themselves to be fairly vanquished; and the Effects of that is what the Historian observes: † *They impute their Defeat to a Chance, to the Subtilty of the General, who took his Advantage, and dealt indirectly: And this they do not think a Victory, but a Trick and a Cheat.* And again, *He scorned to revenge himself by foul Play and Surprise, but took up Arms fairly, and came into the Field openly, and carved out his Vengeance with his Sword.*

Now these Reflections, I must own, are very just; but then they must not be extended too far. There are indeed two Cases, wherein such Rules are obligatory: That I mean of personal Quarrels,

* Quæ salvâ Fide & Dignitate paratur.

† Non Virtute, sed Occasione & Arte Ducis se victos rati: Ergo non Fraude, & Occultis, sed palam & armatum Hostes suos ulcisci

Eccc 2

and

BOOK III. and Disputes between private Men, and that of National Controversies too, where the Matter in question concerns some former Engagements; or when there have been mutual Alliances and Compacts treated formerly between them. But where neither of these is the Case, that is to say, in a formal and direct War, and where no Faith hath been given, and consequently none can be broken, it is allowable to humble and defeat an Enemy any manner of Way: For the proclaiming of War is like passing Sentence of Death; all against whom it is denounced, lie under Condemnation; and if that Sentence were just, it will be lawful to exterminate and bring them to Execution, by the snatching every Opportunity and Advantage of doing it. This agrees with the Notion of very brave and deservedly renowned Generals, who have been so far from disdaining or condemning a Victory obtain'd by Subtilty and secret Stratagems, that they make no Scruple, even of preferring it before those that are acquired by Dint of Blows, and open Force. And accordingly they made Distinctions in their Sacrifices of Thanks upon these Occasions; ordering the most valuable, an Ox, to be offered up for the former Sort; whereas a Cock was esteemed Acknowledgment sufficient, and more suitable to the Advantage of the latter. Nor is it their Opinion only, but even the great Christian Doctor, St. *Augustine*, thought it no way disagreeable to the Strictness even of our Religion, to give this Determination of the Matter. * *When a righteous War*

* Cum justum bellum suscipitur, ut apertè pugnet quis, aut ex insidiis, nihil ad justitiàm interest.

Of Prudence in Government. 1157

is begun, whether Men fight by open Force, and formal Engagements, or by Subtilty and Stratagem, and secret Ambuscade, it makes no Difference in the Justice of the Proceeding. And indeed a State of War, in the very Nature of the Thing, hath some Privileges reasonably allowed to it, even against what Reason in other Matters would think necessary or allowable. And surely in Time and Place convenient, a Man is not bound to refuse any Occasion; for why should it not be counted as fair to take the Advantage of an Enemy's Indiscretion and Folly, as it is to make the best of their Weakness, or their Cowardise? And yet no Man, that I know of, ever pretended, that it was unbecoming a General to attack his Enemy, except both their Courage, or their Numbers were in all Points a Match, and equal to his own.

Let us now proceed in the last Place, to the Third Head of this Subject, which concern Conduct in military Matters; which, as it is the shortest, so is it likewise the joyfullest and most desirable of all the rest; putting an End, I mean, to the War by Peace. Peace! There is Musick in the very Sound, Delight and Advantage in the Thing; it is beautiful and charming in any Dress, and infinitely profitable to all Parties, both the Victors and Vanquished.

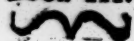
39.
The Third
Head, Putting an
End to the
War.

* *The sweetest Bliss that e'er indulgent Heav'n
To smooth the Storms of Human Life hath given.*

* ——— Pax optima rerum,
Quas homini novisse datum est; Pax una Triumphis
Innumeris potior ———

E e e e 3

Re-



*Repeated Pumps and Trophies of the Field,
To the soft Triumphs of one Treaty yield:
Those Laurels full of Blood and Blemish are;
He only conquers, who concludes the War.*

But the Advantages I confess, tho' universal, are not distributed in equal Proportions; the Losers by the War, have by much the greater and more sensible Share of them. And these, who are supposed to be enfeebled and reduced, must be advised, to keep themselves still in a Posture of Defence, and preserve an Air at least and outward Appearance and Resolution, and Courage still unbroken, and Hope of a more favourable Change of Affairs: For (as hath been said before) he that is desirous of Peace in good Earnest, must be always ready for War; and that Observation is most true, That the best and happiest Agreements are made in the Field, and treated with Sword in Hand. But tho' Peace be never so desirable and convenient for our present Circumstances, yet even a good Thing may be bought too dear. We must not therefore be so immoderately fond of it, as not to take care that it be honourable, and upon fair and reasonable Terms; for if this be not rightly adjusted, however that common Notion may prevail of a counterfeit and base Peace, being better than a just and creditable War; yet a Prince had better preserve his Liberty at the Price of Life, and hazard all gloriously, than submit himself and his People to vile and reproachful Terms, and live in Slavery and Infamy. A Peace then should not be patch'd up for a present Turn, and to skin over a Sore, but it should be free and fair, without Trick, or Design,
or

or deceitful Reservations; such as may entirely end the War, and not only suspend Acts of Hostility for a while, and so protract, and kindle War a-fresh. For * *Downright War is better than a suspected Peace.* But, all this notwithstanding, when Matters are brought to an Extremity, a Man must comply whether he will or no, and make the best Terms he can. When the Pilot sees himself ready to be Shipwrack'd, helightens the Ship, and is content to save his Life with the Loss of his Lading; and thus it often happens, that the throwing all over-board in the Case before us; insisting upon no Demands, but committing our selves entirely to the Mercy of the Conqueror, succeeds very happily. For † *Prosperity hath a softening Influence upon generous Adversaries, and they feel their Anger melted into Pity; and the more they have it in their Power, the less Inclination they find to take a Revenge.*

The Prosperous and Triumphant must give me Leave to advise them, that they would not be over-nice and difficult to grant a Peace; for, tho' perhaps the Vanquish'd get abundantly more by it than the Victors, yet still even these get a great deal. For, supposing the best Fortune, and the easiest Terms the Thing will admit, yet the carrying on of a War, cannot but be a Matter of infinite Trouble and Inconvenience: And *Lycurgus* had another Consideration, for which he thought it always expedient to be often at War with one and the same Enemy, because this is training him up, as it were, and teaching him the Trade, till at

* Pace suspecta tutius Bellum.

† Victores qui sunt alto animo, secundæ res in miserationem ex ira vertunt.

BOOK III.

last he grow as expert as his Masters; and learn not only to defend himself, but to attack us. The Teeth of Beasts in the Agonies of Death are exceeding venomous, and the Wounds made by them then, commonly prove mortal.

** Valour's last Efforts bold and dangerous are,
And double Fury rages in Despair.*

And besides, the Contingencies of War are more than can possibly be foreseen; they are intricate, and dark, and the Issue always uncertain. One unlucky Action may blast all that went before; and therefore † *a good Peace, which secures all, is much safer and more eligible, than an absolute Victory at Distance, and in Reversion only; because that is in the disposal of Providence, and may never be yours; but this is in your own Hand, and you may have it actually in possession.* So great a Difference ought we to make between Things present, and those that are future, and but in Prospect; if no other Argument concurr'd to balance our Choice. But it deserves to be remembered further, that the Sting lies usually in the Tail; that Fortune is always floating and inconstant; and the longer she hath favour'd us already, the greater Reason we have to apprehend, that she will be shifting shortly. And ‡ *No Man can with Safety to himself tempt Dangers, which must thicken upon him every Day.*

* — Fractis rebus violentior ultima virtus.

† Melior tutiorque Pax sperata Victoriâ. Illa in tuâ, hæc in Deorum manu est.

‡ Nemo se tutò diu periculis offerre tam crebris potest.

But,

Of Prudence in Government. 1161

CHAP. IV.

But, besides the making a saving Game while we may, we should do well to reflect, how honourable a way of proceeding this is. For when all is our own, and our Enemy lies at Mercy, then to hearken to Proposals, and readily accept a Peace, is truly great and glorious. This shews those Pretences to be true, which all Princes affect to make, that we are desirous to end the War, and fight only for the sake of Peace. And on the other side, the refusing good Terms, and suffering any Change of Fortune afterwards, makes one fall unpitied, and exposes him to the Scorn and Indignation of all Mankind. They tell you, That such a one is a Sacrifice to his own Vanity and Ambition. He disdain'd Peace, and grasp'd at Honour; and by refusing one when he might have had it, he hath now lost both. But, when we are so disposed to grant a Peace, we should be liberal in our Concessions, and give large and liberal Conditions, that so it may be firm and lasting. For if it be rigorous and hard, we must expect, that those who are oppress'd by us, will be sure to revolt, and break loose from their Covenants, as soon as ever they find it feasible and convenient. So says *Livy* in one of his Treaties, * *If you grant a good Peace, it will be durable and firm; but if the Terms be harsh, this can never bind so fast, but that the first Opportunity of mending their Circumstances, will be sure to break through it.* And it is an Argument of a great Soul, to be flexible and indulgent, and yielding to an Enemy, when he sues for Pity; as it is to be invincible

* *Pacem, si bonam deberitis, fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam.*

and

BOOK. III. and keep one's Ground when he engages you in the Field. The antient *Romans* we find have set an excellent Pattern of this kind, and the good Account it turn'd to with them, is a sufficient Reason to recommend it to the Imitation of all Posterity.

C H A P. IV.

The P R E F A C E.

HAVING dispatch'd, as you see, the several Directions necessary for that Part of Civil Prudence, which is design'd to guide a Prince in the Administration of the Government, and the maintaining that Character which is altogether Publick: I design in the next Place to allow that Prudence, which is personal, a distinct Consideration: That, I mean, which is necessary for the preserving himself under, or for applying proper Remedies to, the Difficulties, and Dangers, and Calamities that may happen. And this is the fitter to be spoken to apart, and by it self, because both the Rules themselves, and the Occasions which require the Practice of them, are agreeable to the Circumstances of all Conditions of Men, and suit both Prince and Subject; both them in publick, and these in private Capacities.

Now the first Thing to be done upon this Occasion, is the observing and distinguishing duly that great Variety of Business and Contingencies, which this Subject will engage us in the Consideration of: For they may be either publick or private. They may be future, and such as threaten us at some Distance; or they may be actual Hardships, and such as we labour under at present:

Of Prudence in Government. 1163

CHAP. IV.

present: They may be intricate and uncertain; or they may be evidently dangerous and difficult; and of great Concern to us too, by reason of the Violence of the Pressure they put us under. And again, Those that are of the highest Consequence, and are attended and encumbred with most perplexing Difficulties, may be secret and conceal'd, or visible and open. Of the former Sort we may reckon two: Close Conspiracies against the Person and Life of a Prince, or against the Government in general; or Treachery against any Garrison, or Town, or Regiment, or some particular Body of Men. The latter Sort, such as are manifest and open, are of several Sorts; for either they want the Formalities of War, and are tumultuous and disorderly; as popular Commotions, and riotous Insurrections upon some slight Occasion of Offence; Factions and Leagues entred into by some Subjects against the rest; and the Persons concern'd in these may be numerous or few, great or mean Men; Seditions or Mutinies against the Prince or the Magistrate; Rebellion, which is an opposing the Authority, and striking at the Person of the Prince himself: Or else they are ripened into formal Wars, and accordingly go by the Name of Civil Wars. And these may differ, and be of as many sorts as the fore-mentioned Disturbances, which are indeed the Foundations and Seeds, the Causes and imperfect Beginnings of such Wars, but have come to their full Growth by Continuance and Degrees of Increase. Concerning every one of these, I intend to say somewhat particularly; and to give such Advice upon it, as may contribute to Men's deporting themselves wisely under each, as it shall happen to be their Lot. And these Directions I shall endeavour so to deliver, that they may be serviceable to all Degrees
and

Book III. *and Conditions of Men; Princes and Subjects, Publick and Private, those of the first Quality and greatest Interest and Wealth, and those of inferior Rank, and mean Fortunes.*

SECT. I.

Of Accidents and Calamities future, and such as only threaten us at some Distance.

THERE are two different Methods of Mens deporting themselves in those cross Accidents, to which the Affairs of human Life are subject; and either of those Ways may be exceeding useful and commendable, according to the different kinds of Misfortunes, or the different Tempers of the Persons to whom they happen. The one of these consists in making a strong and grave Opposition, grappling and encountring with the Calamity; using one's utmost Endeavours to countermine, or to divert it; or, if that cannot be, yet at least to blunt and take off the Edge, and to break the Blow. In a Word, either wholly to escape, or else in a good degree to lighten, or however to make one's way through it. And this requires Firmness of Mind, and a notable Spirit.

The other is, when a Man takes Things as they are, and without more to do, supposes and submits to the worst of them, with a Resolution to bear all that comes calmly and patiently; and in the mean while sits down quietly, and silently waits the Approach of any Calamity that looks black about

about him, without ever troubling himself to prevent the Blow. The former of these two makes it his Business to govern and order the Event; the latter to conquer and compose himself. The former is the brisker Man, and plays a bolder, but the latter is the surer, and plays a more saving Game. The former is always in deep Anxiety and Suspence, agitated and tossed between Hope and Fear; the latter puts himself under Covert, lies down upon the Ground, and satisfies himself with the Comfort that he can fall no lower. The former takes Pains to escape the Calamity; the latter labours to endure and get through it; and it very often happens, that this Man hath the better Bargain of it, and comes off with less Trouble and Loss. We know Men are often at more Expence to defend their Title by Law, than the whole Thing they contend for is worth: And thus it is very often in other Matters. The cheapest Course they can take, is to sit down by the Loss; and many an Affliction is born with more Ease to the Sufferer, than it can be either avoided or struggled with. The covetous Wretch is a greater Torment to himself, than he that is really poor; and the jealous Husband feels more Uneasiness, tho' his Jealousy be groundless and undeserv'd, than the Cuckold who hath been actually dishonour'd, but either knows it not, or regards it not. The peculiar Virtue of the former, and that which is most necessary for his Circumstances, is Prudence; for his is active Valour; that of the latter is Temper, and Constancy, and Patience; for his Part is purely passive. But indeed, why should a Man be confin'd to either of these singly? Wherefore should he

BOOK III. he not use and try both, in their Order and proper Season? For methinks Prudence and Vigilance should be the first Attempt; and when these are found insufficient, then is the Time for changing our Measures, and Patience should succeed in their Place. Thus much at least is certain and undoubted, that in all publick Contingencies, the Method for Prevention and Remedy ought first to be tried: Those that are in Trust and Office, and have it in their Power to serve and promote the common Good, are indispensably obliged to it, and ought to stand in the Gap against all manageable Difficulties and Misfortunes. In the Case of private Persons, I confess it is otherwise: There a Man hath none but himself to answer for; and it will be agreeable to Wisdom and Duty both, to consider the State of the Matter before him, and consult his own Abilities; and then to make a Choice of such Methods and Management, as appear most advantageous in the present Circumstances, and as he feels himself the best qualified for.

S E C T. II.

Of Evils and Difficulties actually present, and pressing.

THE proper and most effectual Course to lighten the Sufferings of human Life, and to sweeten the Passions under them, is by no means to set one's self in Battel array, and enter into a formal Combat with them; for Opposition in this Case does but blow the Coals, and render them more

more furious and insupportable. The Eagerness of Debate and Contradiction does but irritate and inflame the Sore, instead of mollifying the sharp Humour, or asswaging the Pain. And therefore he who would consult his Ease, and the Serenity of his own Mind, should betake himself to one of the two following Remedies.

The First is, That of diverting, and drawing them off to another Course. Thus we preserve our Lands from Inundations, by opening Trenches, and carrying off the Water by another Channel: And thus Physicians, when they find the morbi-fick Matter too obstinate to be purg'd away, try to give it a Turn, and throw it into some other part, where the Consequence may be less dangerous to the Patient. And this, when attempted, must be done by Means as gentle, by Degrees as easie and insensible, as can possibly be. For the Application, when prudently and dexterously made use of, is of marvellous Efficacy in all manner of Calamities: Nor ought it to be thought odd or peculiar, since it is the common Remedy and Practice of Mankind, not in Affliction only, but in every other Case which is difficult or disgusting. And what I advise here, every Man who observes nicely, will find to be the Expedient, which he naturally prescribes to himself. This is the Art we use, to swallow down the bitterest Morsels, and by which we feel our selves insensibly harden'd to endure the Approach of Death it self. So says the Philosopher, * *The Mind must be drawn*

* Abducendus Animus est ad studia alia, cura, negotia; Loci denique mutatione, tanquam ægroti non convalescentes, curandus est,

BOOK III. *off to new Objects, fresh Diversions of Pleasure, of Business, nay even of Cares and anxious Thoughts of another kind; or if nothing else will do, we must treat it as they do sick People, and try if Change of Air, and another Country, will contribute any thing to the Cure.* Thus, when timorous People are to pass by some dreadful Precipice, we prevent or lessen the Fright, by prevailing with them to shut their Eyes, or look another way. And thus Men commonly wink, when the Executioner is to give the Stroke. Thus we endeavour to amuse Women and Children upon letting Blood; and tho' neither the Danger or the Pain be what can justify their Fears, yet the very Sight and Approach of the Lancet is something they cannot support. And, since all Mankind are in some measure tinctur'd with this Infirmary; since some Sufferings seem to be an over-match for human Nature; we have all the Reason in the World to think the Stratagem of *Hippomenes* a very proper Pattern for our Imitation. The Story we find represented by the Poets; and it is briefly thus: *Hippomenes* was to run a Race with *Atalanta*, a Lady of exquisite Beauty and celebrated Agility. The Conditions were, that if he lost the Race, he should lose his Life; but if he won it, the Lady was to be his Prize. He, distrusting his own Swiftneſs of Foot upon even Terms, provided three golden Apples, and as they were running, took Occasion to let these fall at convenient Distances one after another; and thus by taking up her Time, who stoop'd to gather them up, he diverted her from the Business of the Race, and won both the Day and the Bride into the Bargain.

Of Prudence in Government. 1169

Bargain. The Application I would make of that CHAP. IV.
Fable is only this; That if the Consideration of
one Misfortune, or grievous Accident, which we
at present labour under; or if some boisterous and
violent Passion ruffle and torment us, which we
our selves feel unable to subdue by downright
striving; the best Expedient will be, to shift
the Scene, and bring some other Thought up-
on the Stage. For when we cannot absolutely
exterminate, and perfectly compose it, there is
the gaining of a Point, in some measure at least,
when we can change a most dangerous Calamity
for one that is less so, and banish one Passion
with another less outrageous. All this, in the
mean while, is not intended to discourage Men's
entring into the Lists, and making a formal gal-
lant Opposition against the Evils they suffer, and
the Resentments provoked by them. But the
proper Season for this Advice, is when the Ene-
my is too mighty, and the Combat unequal and
unsuccessful: For when Fighting will do no good,
a wise Man will try to save himself by Flight;
he must dodge, and wheel, and get out of the
way of Mischiefe. Or, if it dog him so close,
that there is no avoiding it, he must try to sof-
ten and break the Force of it, by some fresh
Diversions, and taking Sanctuary in some Thoughts
of another kind, which may give a Turn to the
Soul, and change the Current of the Imaginati-
on: Or, if they cannot go so far as to make a
perfect Exchange, yet such at least may give the
Misery some Interruption, and divide those un-
grateful *Idea's*, which they are too feeble, either
to keep down, or to root out totally, though at
F f f f the

BOOK III. the Expence of new one's planted in their room.

The Second Expedient, and that which is most advisable in Cases of great Extremity, where the Danger is so evident, and inevitable, that a Man hath nothing left him to do, but to stand the Shock, is to stoop a little under the Blow, and give place to Necessity: For by shewing a Man's self obstinate in such a Case, and resolving not to yield in any Point, the Violence is but the greater, and the Treatment we meet with, so much the rougher; it being the Nature of Opposition to provoke; and our Passions in such Cases, like Torrents, which no Dams are strong enough to stem, rage the more for being pent up, and at last swell the higher, and bear down all before them. In such Cases therefore, a Man must be content to see himself over-rul'd; and whatever Rules he hath fix'd to his Behaviour in ordinary Circumstances, they must be dealt with as wise Politicians do by the Laws of the Land; who, when they fall short, and cannot do what they would have them, alter their Measures, and make them do what they can. It hath been by many esteem'd a Reproach upon *Cato*, and a considerable Blemish in his Character, that he was so very stiff and nice in the Civil Wars which happen'd in his Time, and rather suffered the Commonwealth to be driven to the last Extremities, than he would contribute to its Relief, at the Expence of some Laws, which the present Necessity and Distress made it very reasonable to have dispensed with. On the other Hand, *Epaminondas* had so great a regard to the publick Good, that he continued in his Office beyond the Term prefix'd,

though

though the Law prohibited the doing so upon pain of Death: So just a Sense had he of the End and Nature of Laws, that they are design'd for the Service and Advantage of the State, and cannot in any equitable Construction be supposed to bind, where the Exigence of Affairs is such, that by observing the Letter of the Law, a Man destroys the End of it. Accordingly we find this Commendation of *Philopæmon*, that he was a Person born to Command: For he was not only Master of the Art of governing according to Law, but had the Skill of governing the Law it self, when any publick Necessity requir'd that it should be set aside; and left no other Refuge, but the Discretion of the Magistrate. For it often happens, that those at Helm are put out of their common Road, by some difficult and extraordinary Emergencies; and in such Cases it is their Duty as well as Wisdom to ply to Wind-ward, and steer what Course they can. And indeed, in all Extremities, private as well as publick, a prudent Man will be content to bend a little, to yield and comply as far as he may, and by all honest Stratagems to save the main Chance. For in these Matters there is a Latitude and Privilege of Relaxation allowed; some Moderation and Abatement, which those who are unacquainted with the present Circumstances, can be no competent Judges of. And therefore we should be very tender, how we condemn a Proceeding, which is so far from being contrary to Reason and Justice, that it is highly agreeable to both; and not only so, but a Master-piece of Prudence in those who manage it skilfully.

S E C T. III.

Affairs Intricate and Uncertain.

BOOK III.

WY this Intricacy and Uncertainty of Affairs, I understand such a Juncture as hath great Appearance of Reason, and strong Arguments on both sides; so that the Man is at a loss, and does not discern, nor know how to choose what is best and most convenient for him: This creates Distraction and Perplexity of Thought; and till some other Consideration fall in to turn the Scale, the best thing we can do, is to consider where there are the greatest Odds of Justice, and Honour, and Decency; and by all means fall in with that side. For, altho' the Event should prove contrary to our Expectation and Desire, yet still there will be a secret Satisfaction, the Complacency and Testimony of our own Breasts, to support us within; and the Reputation and Praise of Men without, for having chosen the better, though not the more fortunate Course. Nor ought any Miscarriage in such a Case, to provoke the least Remorse; because no Man can tell what Providence hath to do, or how that will dispose of him and his Endeavours; and consequently he cannot be secure that his Disappointment, or his Calamity would have been less, though he had taken quite different Measures. And therefore, when a Man cannot resolve himself which is the easiest and the shortest way to his Journey's End, the best Determination he can come to, is to keep the straightest Road.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Difficult and Dangerous Cases.

IT is often Men's Fate in Matters of Difficulty, CHAP. IV.
to succeed as they that are over-nice and cautious commonly do in bargaining, and Articles of Agreement; where an excessive Care to make all fast, and prevent all manner of Danger, is but a Means of increasing the Danger, and ruining all. For by this mighty Circumspection, so much more Time is spent, so many more People are employed, so many more Clauses and Proviso's inserted; that the Differences and Squabbles arising upon it, are multiplied in Proportion to the Clutter made for avoiding them. To all which we may add, that this is the way to provoke Fortune, who is jealous of her Honour, and will not bear the Presumption of any Man's pretending to exempt himself from her Jurisdiction. Which after all is a vain Attempt, and what the most provident Man alive can never compass: For there is One Above, who hath a Power Paramount, *and will not suffer his Dominion to be encroach'd upon. And therefore the best way seems to be the dispatching them with all the Expedition and Easiness we can, and rather to run the Risque of some little Danger, that create a great deal of Dissatisfaction and Torment to our selves, by our extraordinary Nicety and Caution.

In Cases of manifest Danger, it is necessary a Man should have both Wisdom and Courage; he

* Vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult.

should look before him, and see Dangers at a Distance, and make a right Judgment and Estimate of them: For Men are very apt to see these things in false Proportions, and to look upon them through the Gläs of Passion, rather than calm and undisturb'd Reason. This is one Account, why such things are generally apprehended otherwise than in reality they are, because the Affection predominant at that time, represents them greater or less, and imposes upon the Judgment by such *Idea's*. But then, tho' it may become a wise Man to foresee all Hazards that are in any degree probable; yet it is no way unworthy of him to consider them as Contingencies, that they may not, as well as that they may happen; that it is great Odds all of them will not happen; that of those which do, all will not have the Consequences and Effects, which it is fit for one to form in his own Mind, who makes it his Business to provide against the very worst that can come; that a Man shall by the help of Industry and Prudence, be able to deal with the greatest part of them well enough. In this Case too, it is fit to consider in which of those Accidents that threaten us, we may promise our selves Assistance, and accordingly to provide our Succours: And as generally in all, so in these Junctures more especially, to take Courage, to fix our Resolutions, and be steady in our Undertakings. For, when once a Man hath consider'd what he goes about, and finds it agreeable to his Duty, and what every way becomes him to do, he is obliged by all means to persevere, and not suffer any Prospect of Danger to discourage him in a commendable Attempt.

Of Prudence in Government. 1175

CHAP. IV.

Attempt. A wise Man indeed will never want Courage, because he proceeds with Deliberation and Thought; prevents the Mischief of Surprise, and provides against every thing likely to cross his Design. But then it is no less expedient, That the Man of Courage have a Mixture of Wisdom too; for without this, all his Boldness is but a rash Heat, and a blind fool-hardy Giddiness.

S E C T. V.

CONSPIRACIES.

WE are now advancing to such Accidents, as of all others are of the greatest, most general, and most dangerous Consequence, and therefore it will be fit to enlarge a little the more upon them. Which shall be done, first by giving a particular Description of the Thing it self; then by laying down such Directions as may be serviceable to a Prince under them. And then in the Conclusion of this Subject, casting together into one Chapter that Advice proper for private Persons to follow upon these Occasions.

By Conspiracies I mean the Attempts made, either by some one Man singly, or by several in Combination, against the Person of the Prince, or the State and Government in general: And this must be acknowledged a Circumstance of infinite Danger, extremely hard either to escape or to remedy, by reason of the Secrecy, and industrious Concealment of the Thing. For which way shall a Man be able to secure himself from the treache-

rous Assaults of an unknown, unsuspected Enemy? And what shall give any just Jealousy of that Man's being so, who wears the Face, and acts the Part of our faithfullest, tenderest, and most zealous Friend? The Thoughts and Inclinations of the Heart lie too dark and deep for Human Eyes to penetrate; and yet here is all the Danger; for they who design a Prince's Ruin, will take all the Care they can that no Overt-Act, no Failure of Respect, no Coldness or Negligence in Behaviour, may minister Cause of Suspicion; but will rather exceed in the Expressions of Duty and Respect, and mask their Villany by an officious and double Diligence. Besides, do but consider the Advantages of a desperate and bloody-minded Man; for he that does not value his own Life, may make himself Master of another Man's whenever he pleases.

* *He knows not how to fear, who dares to die.*

So that a Prince is continually exposed to Danger and Death, and lies at the Mercy of every private Man, who hath Hardiness enough to sacrifice himself in the attacking him.

Machiavel takes great Pains to shew how Plots against the State ought to be contriv'd, and so laid as to prove successful. We leave that wicked Policy to him, and shall employ all our Care to shew how they may be best discovered and defeated.

Now the best Remedies and Directions that I can think of for so critical and hazardous a Juncture, are these that follow.

* *Contemnit omnes Ille, qui Mortem prius.*

First,

Of Prudence in Government. 1177

CHAP. IV.

First, Private Intelligence, and cunning under-hand Methods, to discover and counterwork all Attempts of this Nature; in which faithful, vigilant, and discreet Persons should be made use of as Instruments. These are the Eyes and Ears of the People, and therefore they should be every where, to discover and bring Information of all that may concern him to know; but particularly they should have a special Regard to all that his principal Officers and Ministers say and do: Because these are capable of doing most Mischief, and he cannot be tolerably safe, if they be false to him. Now it is as observable in this Case, as in any whatsoever, That *out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh*; for People, who have a Design upon the Government, naturally love to asperse and blacken the Prince, censure his Administration severely, and load him with Calumnies; or if they have Temper enough to be silent themselves, yet they love the Conversation of those that do so, hearken with a sensible Relish and Delight to all kind of factious Discourse; and frequent the Company of Men, who by railing at and blaming all that is done, infuse Jealousies, and foment Discontents among the People. It is very necessary therefore, that a Prince should be well informed what his Subjects, and especially what those about his Person, say of him; what Company they keep, and how they entertain themselves; and it is fit that he should engage to reward the Persons, who make such useful Discoveries, not only with Impunity, but large Sums of Money for their good Service. But then he must be no less careful too of another Inconvenience which may arise from too easy a Credulity. For
though

BOOK III. though he will do wisely to hear all, yet he is by no means bound to believe all. The Rewards I mentioned, as they are Recompences well bestow'd upon faithful and good Men, so are they likewise great Temptations to ill Men; and therefore every Report of this kind should be very diligently examin'd, before a Prince gives Credit to it; for otherwise this Expedient for his own Preservation, will be converted into a Means of crushing and murdering the Innocent, and of making himself the common Detestation and Reproach, the Terror and the Curse of his People.

The Second Preservative in this Case, is winning and engaging the Hearts and Affections of all his Subjects, nay even of his very Enemies, by Methods of Justice and Goodness, of Courtesy and Clemency. For when all is done, * *A Prince's best and strongest Guard is his Innocency*; the being an universal Blessing, good to all, injurious and grievous to none. The Apostle had reason when he asked that Question, *Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* For, usually speaking, the Man that gives no Offence, takes an effectual Course that none shall be given him: But he who does Injuries, must expect to have them paid back again with Interest. And therefore the worst Use that can possibly be made of Power, is to exert it to unjust and base Purposes, and make it an Instrument of Oppression and Violence. So says a wise Author, † Power never puts out its own Strength so ill, as when it breaks forth into Insolence, and contumelious Usage of those

* *Fidissima Custodia Principis Innocentia.*

† *Malè vim suam Potestas, aliorum contumeliis experitur.*
Persons

Persons whose Weakness hath laid them at its Mercy. CHAP. IV.

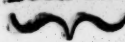
A Third Expedient upon these Occasions is, To set the best Face upon the Matter ; not to betray any Dejection of Mind, but carry all off with one's usual Gaiety and Freedom of Behaviour ; to give out abroad, that he is very sensible what People are doing, and punctually inform'd of all their secret Practices and Designs ; that there passes nothing at any of their Cabals, but he hath immediately an Account of it. For where Privacy is the Life of an Attempt, if once the Plotters can be brought to believe that all they do takes Air, the Project is broken of course. This was an Expedient which a certain Person assisted *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant with, and it was bought cheap at the Price of a Talent.

The Fourth Direction is, To wait for any Danger of this kind without any Confusion or Consternation of Mind. These three last Rules *Cæsar* practised in great Perfection ; but in the first he was altogether deficient. Indeed, he profess'd to disdain it, as a Thing below him, and not worth his while ; and declared, That he thought a Prince had better die once for all, than live in a perpetual Anxiety and Pain for any Accident, which the most vigilant thoughtful Man alive hath it not in his Power to prevent ; and therefore he would rather choose to be easy, and in this, as well as other Matters, trust the Event entirely to Divine Providence, which alone can protect and secure the Persons of Princes effectually. But still this Reflection does not take off the Usefulness and Necessity even of my first Advice, and the rest it leaves in their full Force :
Which,

BOOK III. Which, in truth, are yet more recommended by the ill Success of Courses contrary to these : For all Histories, and particularly those of the *Roman* Emperors, shew, beyond contradiction, that the Intentions to prevent such Plottings, by speedy Vengeance, and rigorous Punishments, did very seldom obtain their desired Effect : They rather exasperated Men's Minds, than subdu'd them ; and the severest and most hasty to take Revenge, and terrify their People, were commonly least secure, and found the worst Treatment from them.

Thus much may serve for Advice how Princes ought to behave themselves, whilst the Designs against their Persons and Government are kept close and in the dark. But when such Conspiracies come to be discover'd, and the Truth brought to light, What is fit to be done then ? Why truly, my first and most general Direction must be, to make the Conspirators publick Examples, by punishing them with all the Severity their Villanies deserve. To spare such black Wretches as these, were not Compassion but Cruelty ; Cruelty to the Innocent, and Peaceable, and Good ; and Treachery to the Publick, whose Safety is exposed and endanger'd by such indiscreet Instances of Pity : For Justice and Equity require, that those who are Enemies to the Peace and Quiet, the Liberties and Rights, and common Happiness of Mankind, should make Reparation with their Blood, for their Attempts to over-run and destroy these so necessary, so valuable Advantages. But then, even those Executions are to be managed with Prudence and Discretion ; and the Manner and Method of Punishing must vary, according as the Face and Condition of Affairs shall happen

happen to vary. Sometimes it is convenient to use ^{CHAP. IV.} all possible Dispatch, and punish presently, especially where the Conspirators are not very numerous. But be the Number of them great or small, I can by no means approve of putting Criminals to the Torture, in order to larger Discoveries, and the bringing out Accomplices not yet known. (For there are other ways of getting Information, by softer and more secret dealing, which very seldom fail; and besides, it may often be of use not to seem very solicitous to know, or if one does know, to appear otherwise, and pretend Ignorance in such Cases.) But, besides all other Mischiefs of such a barbarous Custom as the Rack, this is one certain Discouragement, that a Man is sure to torment others for the Discovery of that, which when found out, will be a Plague and Torment to himself, and set a world of People against him too. Nor do I think it always necessary that every individual Malefactor should suffer: It is enough that some few are made exemplary Warnings to the rest; so many as may encourage and continue good Subjects in their Duty, and reclaim the Factious, by striking an early Awe into those, who are not yet, or at least do not imagine that they are discovered. Sometimes again it is necessary to defer punishing the Offenders; but to be sure, upon all such Emergencies, the Prince's own Safety must be his first and great Care: In this no Time must be lost; the rest may well submit, and be regulated afterwards, as Opportunities best offer. But the Case may have greater Difficulties in it still; The Conspirators may be Persons of such Quality and Figure, or the Discovery may be made in such a critical Juncture, that a Prince may be obliged to
dissemble

Book III.  dissemble his Knowledge and his Danger; and the offering to seize or punish the Guilty, may hazard his Life and Kingdom another way. In such a Strait, it requires a great deal of good Conduct to play a safe Game. The best Course of all is, without question, to countermine and prevent their Plot; to break all their Measures privately; and when the Danger is thus avoided, to decline the giving Offence, by pretending not to know the Parties concern'd; but to manage the Matter, and secure himself, while all the while he appears intent upon something else. Thus the *Carthaginians* managed their General *Hanno*, and the Historian's Remark upon this Method of proceeding is, * *That oftentimes the best, nay the only way to prevent treacherous Practices, is to act as if one knew nothing at all of the Matter.* Nay, which is still more, I am positive that sometimes it is absolutely necessary not to punish Conspirators at all. For if the principal Contriver be a very great Man, if his Abilities or his Deserts have made him popular, if his former Services have been very considerable, and the Prince and Government particularly obliged by him: If his Children, his Relations, his Friends are in great Posts, or Men of Wealth and general Interest, What would you do in such a Case? How would you break through all these Difficulties? Who indeed would attempt it? Who would provoke such Dangers, and make so many, and such dangerous Enemies; and not rather by wholly remitting his Punishment, if that can safely be done; or if not, yet at least by mitigating, and rendring it as gentle

* Optimum & solum sæpe infidiarum remedium, si non intelligantur.

as the Case will bear ; continue a good Understanding, and secure the Affections of all who have an Interest in his Pardon ? Clemency, upon such an Occasion, is not only brave and great (for indeed nothing can be more for the Honour of a Prince, * nothing gives us a brighter Image of Virtue and Magnanimity, than a Monarch pardoning the Affronts and ill Usage which he never deserv'd.) But it is also very often the most prudent and politick Course, and most effectual Security to him for the future. For Men, who have any the least Remains of Ingenuity and Humanity, will be melted by it into Repentance and better Principles. Perfidiousness itself will be put out of Countenance ; and others, who see such eminent Goodness, will be ashamed of any base Design, and effectually diverted from pursuing or projecting it. And of this *Augustus* hath given us a famous Instance, both as to the prudential, and the successful Part, in his Behaviour to *Cinna*, when engaged in a Conspiracy against him.

S E C T. VI.

Treasonable Practices.

BY Treachery and Treasonable Practices, I understand a secret Attempt or Conspiracy, not against the Prince's own Person, or the Government in general, as the former Head was ; but against some particular Post, or Place of some Strength, or some distinct and less Body of Men. In this respect it differs from what went before ; but they

* Nil gloriosus Principe impune læso.

BOOK III. both agree in their Nature and Character of being secret and unforeseen Evils, extremely dangerous if they succeed, and as hard to be avoided or prevented. For the Traitor is commonly hid in a Crowd, in the very midst of the Party he designs to betray, or of the Fortification which he intends to make Sale of, and deliver up into the Enemies Hand. The Persons most disposed to this abominable perfidious Trade, are the covetous, the fickle and fond of Change, and the formal Dissemblers. And this Quality too they have, that they make a mighty Noise and Bustle with their Loyalty, are large in their Commendations of it; violently and unseasonably clamorous against all breach of Trust; superstitiously nice in Matters of little or no Consequence; and these Pretences and extraordinary Affectations of Fidelity, by which they labour to conceal their Villany, are really the best and surest Marks to discover and distinguish them by: For they are so natural to Men of such Principles, that any Man who knows not what it is to over-act a Part, cannot but find them out. Now the Directions proper for such Occasions, are for the most part the same with those in the former Case. Only in the Matter of *Punishment* indeed, this Difference is to be made, That these Men ought to be made Examples immediately, to be dealt with after a very rigorous manner, and excluded from all Mercy. For they are Men of wretched profligate, incorrigible Tempers, the Bane and Pest of Mankind; no Reformation is to be expected from them; and therefore since Pity is lost, as to all hopes of doing good upon the Offenders themselves, it is necessary they should be cut off for the Sake and Safety of others.

S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

Disorders and Popular Insurrections.

OF these I reckon several Sorts, according as CHAP. IV.
the Causes which provide and kindle these
Combustions, the Persons concern'd in them, the
Manner and the Continuance of the Disorders, differ. The Variety whereof will appear more evidently, by treating, in the following Sections, of Factions and Combinations, Seditions, Tyranny, Rebellion, and Civil Wars. But at present I shall insist upon the plainest and most generally receiv'd Notion of the World; for such Risings of the People, as proceed from some present Heat, are only a Tumult, soon up and soon down again.

The Prescriptions proper for this Distemper are, to draw them, if possible, to a Parley; and try if they can be prevail'd with to hear Reason; and in case they will suffer themselves to be argu'd with, then to expostulate and remonstrate things fairly, by the Interposition of some Person of established Reputation, eminent Virtue, powerful Eloquence, and skill'd in Address; One whose Gravity and Industry, and Authority, may be sufficient to gain upon them, and soften the Fury, even of an incens'd Rabble. For at the Presence of a Person thus qualified, they will presently be Thunder-struck, and all he says will gain Credit, and make its own way through them.

BOOK. III.



* *As when in Tumults rise th' ignoble Crowd,
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud;
And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
And all the Rustick Arms that Fury can supply.
If then some grave and pious Man appear,
They hush their Noise, and lend a listning Ear;
He soothes with sober Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.*

Mr. Dryden.

It may not be amiss, upon some Occasions, for the Prince himself to appear among them; but then he must take great Care in what manner this be done: He must have a serene and free Countenance, an Air of Gaiety and Assurance, a Soul at perfect Liberty, and free from all Apprehension of Death or Danger, and ready prepared to entertain the worst Treatment that can possibly happen to him. For, to shew himself with a Face full of Fear and Distrust, to descend to Flattery and mean Remonstrances, is beneath a Prince's Character: It makes him cheap and contemptible, encourages the Insolence of the People, and does but inflame, instead of appeasing their Rage. This therefore was done exactly as it ought to be by *Cæsar*, who, when his Legions were in a Mutiny, and rose up in Arms against him, is described in the midst of them thus:

* *Veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces & saxa volant; furor arma ministrat.
Tum pietate gravem ac mentis, si fortè virum quem
Conspexere silent, arrectisque auribus astant;
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet. Virgil.*

*. ----- On the Top

CHAP. IV.

Of a Turf Mount stands Cæsar fearless up,
Deserving Dread by his undaunted Look.

The same Account in effect does *Tacitus* give of *Augustus*, composing the Discontents of his Legions at *Actium*. So that upon the whole Matter, there are two ways of managing the Mob, and quieting them when they run into Tumults and riotous Insurrections. The best and bravest is that of the Prince himself quieting them; but this (as I observ'd) is a nice Undertaking, and had much better be waved, if he have not an absolute Mastery over his Passions, and be not in all Points qualify'd for the managing it dexterously. The other, which is more usual, and more feasible, is to do it by another Hand; and here a greater Latitude may be allow'd, than the Majesty of a Monarch can admit of. Flattery, and cajolling, and all the Arts of mollifying, are the proper Applications; for Stiffness and open Force will do nothing; and the more you oppose the Torrent, the higher and louder it grows. The many-headed Beast, is in this regard like all other wild ones, which are never to be tam'd with Blows and Beating, but may be brought to Hand by soothing and gentle Usage. And therefore an Agent should never spare for good Words and fair Promises, since these are the most successful Artifices upon those Occasions. Nay, some Philosophers and wise Men have allow'd such

* ----- Stetit aggere furi

Cespitis intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri
Nil metuens ----- *Lucan.*

G g g g 2

Mediators

Mediators to be liberal, even at the Expence of Truth; and think that the Folly and Madneſs of an incenſed Multitude, may as innocently be amuſed with Fables and Fictions, as the Simplicity of Children, and the Phrenſies of feveriſh Men are with idle Stories and Promiſes, that are never intended to be made good. *Pericles* had a wonderful Knack at this leading the People at Pleaſure; he held them faſt by the Eyes, the Ears, the Belly; entertain'd them with Shews, and Plays, and Feaſts; and then made them do whatever he had a Mind to. This, I confeſs, is much the meaner Method of the Two; there is ſomething in it ſervile and ignoble; but thoſe Punctilio's muſt be laid aſide, where Neceſſity gives a Diſpenſation. But then they are only fit for ſome Deputy, or Agent, and can never be Condeſcensions becoming a Prince in his own Perſon. And thus we ſee *Menenius Agrippa* manag'd the Matter, when delegated from the Senate to the Commoners of *Rome*. But, if ſuch a one pretends to aſt with a high Hand, and expects to reduce People when they fly out, and break through all the Reſtraints of Reaſon and Duty, without making any Conceſſions, or offering any Terms of Accommodation, as *Appius*, and *Coriolanus*, and *Cato*, and *Phocian* did; this is a very idle Attempt, and muſt ſucceed accordingly.

S E C T. VIII.

Faction and Combinations.

BY Factions and Combinations, I mean the Diviſions and Bandings together of Subjects againſt one another; and theſe may differ both in
Quality

Of Prudence in Government. 1189

CHAP. IV.

Quality and Number; as the Persons concerned are Great and Wealthy, or of a meaner Fortune and Condition, or as the Clans and Parties are each of them more or less numerous. This sometimes proceeds from private Piques and Grudges, which have grown and been cherish'd between single Persons, or are perpetuated and made Hereditary to whole Families; but the usual and more frequent Original of it, is Ambition and Emulation, that Bane of Society and Government, which sets the World on Fire, by kindling in every one a Desire of aspiring to the highest and most honourable Post. The Divisions which happen between Persons of Eminence, and the first Quality, are by much the more dangerous and destructive to the Common-wealth. Some indeed there have been, who set up for Politicians, and pretend, that these disagreeing Parties are of great Service and Convenience to the Publick; and that a Prince by this Means is safer, and better supported, as *Cato* was of Opinion, that the Authority of Masters in private Families was secured by the Discords and Quarrels of their Servants. But this seems a Notion too refin'd and far-fetch'd; and we may venture to say, there are but a few Cases in which the Observation holds good. It may be true with regard to Tyrants and lawless Governours, to whom nothing is so formidable as the good Agreement of their Subjects; because such a general Understanding may tend to unite them against their common Oppressor: It may hold too, in slight and inconsiderable Factions, such as the Quarrels and Competitions betwixt one City and another; or betwixt Ladies at Court,

G g g g 3

who

Book III.

who pretend to set up for Intelligence and underhand Interests : But in any Combinations of Consequence, and in Governments well constituted, and duly administred, it is manifestly false. It is of infinite Concern, and absolute Necessity, that in such Circumstances, all making of Parties should be check'd, and Faction crush'd in the very Egg. All their Distinctions, the Names they go by, the Dress or Badges by which they know one another, and all the Foppery of that kind, utterly discountenanc'd and put down : For even Trifles of this Nature have sometimes laid the Seeds, and been the first Beginnings of prodigious and unconceivable Mischiefs. Witness the miserable Combustion, and horrid Murders, which, *Zonaras* tells us happen'd in *Constantinople*, by the Persons who distinguish'd themselves by wearing Blue and Green, in the Reign of *Justinian*. And accordingly all Clubs, or private Cabals, that tend to the promoting such Divisions, should be carefully dispersed, and strictly forbidden.

The Counsel I have to give upon such Accidents, is briefly this. If the Faction happen between two Peers, or Persons otherwise of Consideration and Character in the State, the Prince will do well to bring them to a better Understanding, by fair Means and good Words; or if that do not succeed, by laying his positive Commands, and threatening the Party who refuses to be reconciled, with his Displeasure, and other severe Penalties, upon his Disobedience: And this Course we find taken by *Alexander the Great*, to compose the Difference between *Hephestion* and *Craterus*; and by *Archidamus* with two of his Friends. If they still stand out,
it

it may be proper to nominate some Arbitrator between them; and this a Person liable to no just Suspicion of Partiality; no way interested or prejudiced, for or against either of the Parties. And this will also be a very good Expedient to end the Disputes, and settle the Pretensions controverted on both sides between greater Numbers of Subjects, or between Cities, or Societies of Men. If it be requisite that the Prince himself interpose, let this by all Means be done with the Assistance of Council, that so the Odium of the Thing may be taken off from himself, and those who suffer in the Determination, may have no Foundation for Resentment. For the Council of Princes serves to this and many other Purposes, as well as for Direction; and it is Prudence to call them together, and act with and by them, in a very solemn Manner, in sundry Instances, where there arises nothing of Difficulty, that can deserve the Formality of a Debate. If the Faction be among Persons of meaner Circumstances, but so, that greater Numbers are engag'd in it; or if it grow too strong to be compos'd by gentler Methods, and the Course of Civil Justice, the Prince must then have Recourse to his last Remedy, and extinguish it by Force. But in this way of quelling it, especially he must take good heed not to discover any particular Inclination to one side above the other. For this is very ominous, and many Kings have lost themselves by their unreasonable Partialities. They are the common Fathers of their whole Country; and it is unworthy the Dignity of that Relation, as well as beneath the Majesty of their Character, to make Distinctions, and be of a Party themselves.

BOOK III.  selves. They must be Friends to all their Subjects; not side with some, and by making their Quarrels their own, suffer themselves to become Enemies, and in effect denounce War against others. We easily see the Indecorum of such Proceedings, when the Master of a Family debases himself to take Part with one Servant against another; for what is this indeed but to become a Fellow-Servant too, and to forget that both the contending Parties are under his Jurisdiction? But sure the Absurdity is more monstrous in Princes, when they forget that all the Subjects are their own; and therefore the Superior hath nothing to do but to deal Justice with an even Hand between them, who are equal to one another, but can never be so to him. Once more, in all the foremention'd Cases, 'tis best, if the Discontents can be quieted, and Controversies decided, without making any publick Examples; because Suffering exasperates, and many angry Remembrances will remain, and rise up hereafter. But if there be a necessity of Punishing, this should be confin'd to as few as may be; and it sufficiently vindicates the Honour of the Prince, and answers the End of the Penalty very well; if some of the Ringleaders, who were first and most active in creating the Disturbance, be made to smart severely, and all the rest be dismiss'd with the Impressions which such a mixture of Severity and Goodness will naturally leave upon them.

S E C T. IX.

S E D I T I O N.

Sedition is a violent Commotion of the People CHAP. IV.
against the Prince, or some of the Magistrates
in subordination to him. The Causes of it are
commonly Oppression and Fear: For those who
have been guilty of some high Misdemeanour, are
afraid of being brought to the Punishment they
deserve; others are jealous of their Privileges and
Properties, and imagine, that the Government de-
signs to invade and run them down. And both
these sorts of Men are so strongly possessed with
the Apprehensions of approaching Ruin, that they
think the only way to save themselves, is by stri-
king the first Blow. It also proceeds very often
from too great Indulgence, Extravagance and De-
bauchery, Necessity, and extream Scarcity of Mo-
ney, or want of other indispensable Supports of
Human Life. So that the Persons who seem of all
others to be cut out for this Trade, are your Spend-
thrifts and Bankrupts, indigent and uneasy, fickle,
and Lovers of Novelty; and all those lewd and
profligate Wretches, who lie under the Lash of
the Law, or at least, are obnoxious to, and afraid
of Justice. These several sorts of Men cannot
continue quiet long: Peace is by no means for their
Purpose, but every whit as great a Calamity to
them, as War is to the rest of Mankind: They
never sleep sweetly but in the midst of a Riot;
and the Liberty they dote upon is Licentiousness
and Confusion. But better to bring their Mat-
ters

BOOK III. ters to bear, they contrive private Conferences, and send abroad their wicked Instruments to poison the World; make loud and grievous Complaints, scatter secret and vile Insinuations, at first in doubtful and suspicious Words, but afterwards in virulent and open Defamations of the Government; set up for Patriots, and pretend a mighty Zeal for Liberty and Property; profess the publick Good to be their only Hope and End, and promise to redress the People's Grievances: These are constantly some of the Masks, put on to cover their Villany; and thus they draw Numbers after them, who for want of discerning better, and seeing through their Hypocrisy, swallow the bitter Pill thus gilded over.

1. Now the Remedies and Directions proper for such an Exigence of Affairs as this, are first of all such as have been already insisted upon, in the Section of *Popular Insurrections and Tumults*; that is, to draw them to a Parley, to have Matters truly represented, and so make them sensible of their Error, and the Unreasonableness of their Complaints and Discontents; and all this to be done by the Mediation of Persons, whose unquestionable Credit and Character may render such a Negotiation successful.
2. But if this do not succeed, the second Thing must be for a Prince to take Arms, and strengthen himself against their Violence; yet so as not to be rash and hasty upon them, but to proceed slowly, and with much Deliberation; that they may have Warning and Time to recollect and qualify the Fierceness and Heat of their Passions; and so the ill Men among them, by thinking better, may return to their Duty; and those who are harmless, and good, may desert their Seducers, and

unite with the right side : For Time is a most excellent Physician, and seldom fails to allay and cure the common People, who are much more disposed to quarrel, and be mutinous, than they are to come to Blows in good earnest. * *The Mob* (says a wise Historian) *are furious and eager to rebel, but tame and poor-spirited in a regular Fight; and much better at making a Push to stretch their Liberty, than at the lawful Defence of it.* A third Expedient is, to be tampering with them all this while, and try to divide and disettle their Minds † by Hope and Fear; for these are the two Passions that spur them on, and therefore these must be wrought upon to bring them off. And therefore a wise Governor will be sure to be liberal, both of his Promises and Threatnings, that so these Passions may not want Matter enough to feed upon; but then Care must be taken too, that they may be so temper'd, as neither to encourage Presumption, nor drive to Despair. A Fourth Remedy is, to sow Divisions among them, and break their Correspondence, by making them jealous and dissatisfied at one another. A Fifth will be, to get some of the Party over by secret Service, inviting them with Promises and Pensions, and privately rewarding what they privately do for your Advantage. And these Persons thus gain'd, are to be disposed in several Posts. Some of them should be drawn quite off, and come over to you, to weaken and intimidate them; others should be still left behind to do your Business there, by giv-

3.

4.

5.

* Ferocior Plebs ad rebellandum quàm bellandum : tentare magis quàm tueri Libertatem.

† Spem offer, metum intende.

- BOOK III. ing Advice of all their Motions, and communicating their Intentions and Designs; by laying them asleep by false Securities, and watching all Opportunities to qualify their Fury. Then, Sixthly, those who cannot be got thus far, and are still obstinate, should be cajoll'd by granting some part of what they demand, and giving them Expectation of more; all which the expert Politicians will tell you, should be, by large Promises, worded cunningly, that so the Ambiguity of the Expressions may leave room for a colourable Evasion afterwards: For a Prince may easily, when he thinks fit, revoke that which hath been extorted from him, and justly deny what Injustice hath compell'd him to give hopes of obtaining. This is casuistical Policy at least; but the only way to make it go down well with the People, is to varnish all over with Gentleness and Clemency, and to make them some Amends by Indulgences of another kind, for those Concessions, which without manifest Prejudice to his Prerogative and Government, he cannot but recede from. Lastly, If they shall return to a better Sense of Things, and act agreeably to Reason and their Duty, they should be dealt with tenderly; and a Prince may very well content himself with chastising some few of the first Authors, and principal Incendiaries, without giving himself the Trouble so much as to enquire after all the Accomplices; but managing the rest so, that they shall have Reason to think themselves secure in his Pardon and Favour.

SECT. X.

Tyranny and Rebellion.

BY Tyranny, we are to understand an arbitra-^{CHAP. IV.}
 ry, lawless Government, a domineering over
 the Subjects with Violence and Rigour, without
 Regard had to the Rules or Measures of Power,
 or the Customs and Privileges of the Country.
 This is frequently the Cause of publick Disturbances,
 and general Discontents, which by Degrees grow
 up into Rebellion. And Rebellion is a Rising of
 the People against their Prince, provok'd by his
 tyrannical and unjust Oppressions, with a Design to
 dethrone and drive him from his royal Post. So
 that Rebellion differs from Sedition in this, that
 it no longer acknowledges, or submits to the Prince
 as a Master and Governour; whereas Sedition does
 not go so far; but is dissatisfy'd with the Admini-
 stration, and aims not at changing the Person, but
 his Measures, and the Reformation of what it con-
 ceives amiss. Now the Persons, who thus dege-
 nerate into Tyranny, are Men of base Dispositions,
 cruel in their Temper, Lovers and Encouragers of
 wicked and turbulent People, and mischievous pick-
 thank Slaves, Parasites and Sycophants, and Doers
 of ill Offices. But for Persons of Honour and Vir-
 tue, they have an inward Dread and Aversion. **The
 Virtue and good Qualities of deserving Persons (says
 one) is formidable to them; noble Blood, and Pow-*

* Quibus semper aliena Virtus formidolosa; Nobilitas,
 Opes, gestique Honores pro crimine habentur; ob Virtutes
 certissimum exitium; & non minus ex magnâ formâ quam
 malâ.

BOOK III. *er and Interest, Honours and Offices of Trust well*
 ~~~~~ *discharg'd, are look'd upon as criminal; Worth and*  
*Honesty is their certain Ruin; and a great and good*  
*Name as dangerous under such Governours, as a scan-*  
*dalous and vile Character.*

But these Tyrants are generally punish'd to purpose, and as they deserve, for they are hated and detested, look'd upon as common Enemies; they live in perpetual Terrors and Apprehensions of the Revenge they have provok'd; every thing is suspected and dreaded, and they never think themselves safe; their own Consciences turn their Executioners, and all within is Scourges, and Racks, and Tortures; and at last they come to infamous and untimely Deaths; for the World hath seldom seen a Tyrant live to the Fulness of Age, or die after the manner of common Men.

The Directions and Remedies proper for this Case are largely insisted upon in another Place, and the Sum of them reduc'd to these two Points. First, To hinder a Tyrant from getting the Power absolutely into his own Hands, and oppose his Government at the first: But if this be not done, and he be actually possess'd of it, then to bear and submit as well as we can. For, generally speaking, there is nothing got by Opposition, *\* a Civil War being commonly a Remedy worse than the Disease*; and the Miseries and Disorders of it are more intolerable than the Tyranny and Oppression it undertakes to redress. For the being restive in such Cases, does but exasperate the Cruelty of a Prince, and make that Disposition in him, which was bad be-

\* Pejus deteriusque Tyrannide sine injusto imperio Bellum civile.

fore, ten times worse, \* *Nothing* (says *Plutarch*) in-CHAP. IV.  
*flames a Sore, so much as Impatience under the Pain* ~~~~~  
*of it.* Modesty and Submission, and Compliance  
 with hard and rigorous Commands, have some-  
 thing of a softning Quality in them, which usually  
 rebates the fiercest and most furious Dispositions.  
 For, as *Alexander the Great* observ'd very truly, the  
 Gentleness and good Temper of a Prince depends  
 not altogether upon his own Humour, but in some  
 Measure upon that of his Subjects too; for they  
 sometimes, by their Sauciness and ill Language, by  
 Stubbornness and perverse Behaviour, corrupt and  
 sour their Governours, and make them quite other  
 Men than Nature had made them. † *Men make Go-*  
*vernment easy, and secure themselves good Treatment*  
*by Obedience; and on the other Hand, Insolence and*  
*Refractoriness in Subjects takes off from the Mildness*  
*and good Nature of a Prince: And this is the Mis-*  
*fortune, that the People had rather be peremptory and*  
*disobedient, at the hazard of their own Ruin, than o-*  
*bey quietly, and live securely.*

---

S E C T. XI.  
 C I V I L W A R S.

THE several publick Disorders hitherto treat-  
 ed of, are but crude and imperfect; the Be-  
 ginnings of Evils, and as it were Matter void of

\* Nihil tam exasperat fervorem vulneris quàm ferendi  
 impatientia.

† Obsequio mitigantur imperia; & contrà, Contumacia  
 inferiorum lenitatem imperantis diminuit; Contumaciam  
 cum pernicie, quam obsequium cum securitate malunt.

Form.



BOOK III. Form. But when Riot, or Faction, or Sedition, or Rebellion, is come to its full Maturity of Strength, when it hath all the Perfection it is capable of, and continues any time; then it commences, and is call'd *Civil War*. For this is nothing else, but the taking up of Arms by Subjects, either against one another, which is the Case of the two former; or else against the Prince or Magistrate, and then it is one of the two latter. Now there is not in the World a more calamitous, more scandalous Circumstance. It is not indeed a single, but a complicated Evil, an Ocean of Evils. And a wise Author says very truly, that it cannot with any Propriety of Speech be stil'd a War, but is rather the Sickness, the Fever and Phrenzy of the State. The wicked Authors of it, whoever they be, ought to be swept away from the Land of the Living, and driven immediately, and without Mercy, from among Men. All manner of Wickedness is born and cherish'd under it; Impiety and Cruelty reign without Controul; all Obligations of Humanity and Friendship are dissolv'd; and the nearest Ties of Blood and natural Affection, broken and utterly lost. Murder, and Confusion, and Rapine cease to be Vices. \* *Men have then Licence to be barbarous, and kill with Authority in the Face of the Sun; but Pity and Mercy are practis'd only by stealth. No Age, no Quality can give any Man Protection; but all Distinctions of Person and Condition are laid aside.*

*The reeking Sword pours out a crimson Flood,  
And mingles noble with Plebeian Blood.*

\* Occidere palam, Ignoscere non nisi fallendo licet. Non  
Ætas, non Dignitas quenquam protegit.  
Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latèque vagatur  
Ensis.—

Laws and Order are quite out of Doors, and all Discipline utterly abolish'd. \* *Men fly greedily at all, and are mercenary in Villany; they make no Difference between Things sacred and common, but all are made a Prey alike.* The mean and vulgar are upon the Level with the best and greatest, and the Peasant hail Fellow with the Prince.

CHAP. IV.

† ——— He was our General

*1<sup>th</sup> German Wars; here we are Fellows all.*

*Whom Treason soils, it makes of equal State.*

May.

Persons in Authority dare not interpose, nor take upon them what is due to their Birth and Condition; for he who is embark'd in the same Design, must not reprove his Companion in Wickedness. So dreadful is the Confusion where even the ‡ *Commanders themselves are liable to the same Condemnation; and every Thing, and every Man driven to and fro by Fear and Necessity.* In a Word, this is a Misery in the very Abstract. And the very Victory it self is full of Misery; for supposing the best of the Matter, that Success falls on the side of Right and Justice, yet this renders the Conqueror insolent and furious; transports him to Barbarity and Rage, tho' otherwise of a Temper never so human and gentle; so scandalous are the very Triumphs of a Civil War; so apt to flush even a good Man in Cruelty and Blood; so certain it is to poison, nay to extinguish the Softness of human Na-

\* In omne fas nefasque avidos, aut venales, non sacro, non profano abstinentes.

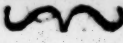
† ——— Rheni mihi Cæsar in undis

Dux erat; hic socius, Facinus quos inquinat, æquat. *Lucan. l. 3.*

‡ Obnoxiiis Ducibus, & prohibere non ausis. ——— Metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutantur.

Hhhh

ture.

Book III.  ture. And if we could imagine the Commanders not to have lost all the Remains of it; yet it will not be in their Power to restrain those under their Care, from their execrable Villanies.

Now there are two Causes of Civil Wars, which offer themselves to our Consideration. The one is secret and mysterious, such as we cannot see through, nor come to any distinct Understanding of, and consequently not in the Power of Man to prevent, or to cure; a certain Fatality, I mean the Will and Decree of Almighty God, by which he sees fit to take Vengeance, and inflict this heaviest of Punishments upon the Sins of a Nation; or not only to chastise, but utterly overturn and exterminate a disobedient and rebellious People.

(less;

*\* Things to their Acme come, in course of Fate grow  
And States too big for Foes, themselves oppress.*

The other is sufficiently visible to wise Men, as a sure Prognostick of future Evils, and such, as if Men would give their Minds to, it might easily be remedy'd; especially if those who sit at the Helm would shew themselves diligent and vigorous in the Application. And this is a general Corruption and Looseness of Manners, Remissness in Discipline, and want of executing good and wholesome Laws for the containing all sorts of People in their respective Duties. Hence the vilest and Refuse of the People take Advantage; and Men of desperate Fortunes, who have no other Game to play, hope to find their Account, by putting all into Confusion. For,

*\* In se magna ruunt, lætis hunc Numina rebus  
Crescendi posuere modum. ——— Lucan. l. 1.*



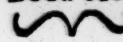
either they raise themselves upon other Men's Ru-  
ins, and heal their own Extravagancies by fishing in  
troubled Waters; or at least they cover their own pri-  
vate, in the Croud of publick Misfortunes. For,  
where a Man hath nothing left to lose, it is some  
Mitigation to his Affliction, that it is general, and  
he does not fall alone. So the wise Histori-  
an observes; *\*That the profuse and turbulent shel-*  
*ter themselves under a common Calamity; and there*  
*is a kind of malicious Comfort in the Nature of*  
*most Men, that make them better contented to be*  
*crushed in the common Ruin, than to perish alone.*  
*For tho' a Man's own Sufferings be equal in either*  
*Case; yet they are less taken notice of, and cannot*  
*be distinguished, when he suffers in a great deal of*  
*Company.*

Now, the Advice fit to be given in this Extre-  
mity, is to make the quickest End that such a War  
is capable of; and for this there can be but two  
Ways; Treaty and Agreement, or Victory. The  
former is certainly the better, even though ended  
with some Hardship and Inconvenience, and short  
of those advantageous Terms we desire: For when  
once those tumultuous Proceedings are quieted,  
Time will do the rest for us. And a Man will do  
well sometimes to suffer himself to be imposed up-  
on, when he is so largely paid for his Loss. As it  
was said of *Antipater*, † *That it was necessary to*  
*cheat him into a Peace, to gratify his Inclination when*  
*he was eager to put an end to the War.* Victory is

\* *Miscere cuncta & privata vulnera Reipublicæ malis ope-*  
*rire. Nam ita se res habet, ut publicâ ruinâ quisque malit*  
*quam suâ proteri; & idem passurus minus conspici.*

† *Bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi.*

Book III.

 a very dangerous Conclusion, though a successful one. For there is great Reason to fear the Abuse of it, and that the gaining such an Advantage may inspire Inclinations to Tyranny and Oppression, and put mighty Opportunities into a Prince's Hands, of ruling those he hath subdued, arbitrarily and by Force, that so they may be effectually kept under for ever after. But, to make sure Work, it is necessary for a Prince to rid his Hands of the principal Actors and Instigators of these Confusions; and such as he perceives to be turbulent and bloody-minded Men, without Regard to which Side they were of; for such Dispositions are always unsafe to be trusted. And this may be done conveniently enough under some fair Pretence of employing them in some remoter Parts, or sending them Abroad into foreign Service; or else by dividing them, and breaking their Correspondence; or keeping them in play against a common Enemy; and then, for the Prevention of any Discontents for the Time to come, to use the common People well, and grant them all reasonable Indulgence; passing over what is already done by an Act of Oblivion, and ministring no just Occasion of Jealousy, but making his Government as easy as possible, in the Preservation of their Rights and Privileges for the future.

## S E C T. XII.

*Advice for private Persons, how they should behave themselves in any of the forementioned Divisions.*

**Y**OU have now taken a short View of the several sorts of Calamities and Confusions, to which the State is obnoxious, and heard the Directions

## *Of Prudence in Government.* 1205

rections proper for each of them, so far as the Prince himself is concerned; it remains now in the last Place, to consider what Deportment will be proper and prudent for Persons in a private Capacity, when any of these Troubles and Difficulties shall happen. Now this cannot be dispatched under any one general Topick; because there are two Scruples concerning it to be resolved; the One, whether it be lawful and fit for an honest and good Man to fall in, and take the Part of some side or other in these Divisions; or whether he should rather keep himself quiet and sit still. The Other, what sort of Behaviour is advisable in either Case, that is, whether he do, or do not interest himself in the Quarrel.

As to the former of these two Questions; it is propounded for the Satisfaction of such as are loose and at their own Disposal, without any Engagements upon them, which should determine them to either Party. For if they are already under any Obligations, this first Query does not in any Degree concern them; they are got beyond it already; and all the Doubts for them to entertain, must receive Satisfaction from the second Question. I insert this Caution by the way, because it frequently falls out, that a Man is staked down, as it were to one Party, almost whether he will or no. For, though he may not make it any part of his Choice and Design, nay, though, in his own private Judgment, he cannot but disapprove it; yet in despite of Intention, Inclination, and good Sense, he may find himself involved and intangled, by some Considerations so powerful, that he cannot

H h h h 3

with

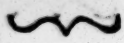


BOOK III.

with any Decency break through them ; And these being such Bands as Nature hath ty'd him up in, or such as counterbalance all Motives to the contrary, will at least carry a sufficient Excuse for his doing as he does. Now, this first Question hath several Arguments *pro* and *con* ; and abundance of eminent Instances might be produc'd, of Persons who have behav'd themselves directly contrary to each other with regard to it. So that differing Judgments and Authorities, as well as different Reasons, minister just Ground of Scruple in the Case. The Resolutions which seem to me most convenient to be come to, according to the different Circumstances of the Persons concern'd in this Debate, are such as follow.

On the one Hand, nothing seems more agreeable to the Character of a wise and a good Man, than to have nothing at all to do with the Follies and Factions of the World ; and therefore such a one cannot do better than to stand by, and let them try it out by themselves. Especially too, if we consider what Account hath already been given of these Divisions, how irregular and unlawful they are in their own Nature and first Causes ; what Wickedness, Barbarity, and Injustice of all Sorts they engage Men in. That these are inseparable Attendants of such Practices, and it is not possible to have any Hand in them, and continue innocent. I say, if all these Considerations be fairly laid together, it scarce looks any longer like a Matter of free Choice, what a Man may, or may not do ; but seems rather a Point of Duty, than of bare Allowance and Permission, absolutely to decline any Concern in them. And accordingly it appears that

## Of Prudence in Government. 1207

that several excellent Persons have had so great an Abhorrence of these Things, and such a Sense of the personal Obligations they violate, that no Considerations could prevail with them to come in; particularly *Afinius Pollio*, who, the Historian tells us, excused himself for these very Reasons to *Augustus*, when he entreated his Company and Assistance in the Expedition against *Mark Anthony*. CHAP. IV.  Velleius, lib. 3.

But then on the other Hand, what shall we say to those Reasons, which enforce our Obligation to take part with good Men, to protect and strengthen such, as much as in us lies, and to defend Equity and Right, against all that oppose, and encroach upon it? The Great *Solon* was so strongly possess'd in Favour of these Engagements, that he is for inflicting very severe Punishments upon them that affect Ease and Obscurity, and refuse to appear and act openly in such Exigencies of State. And that rigid Professor of Virtue, *Cato*, govern'd himself by this Rule; for he did not only declare, and come into one Party in the Civil Wars of *Rome*, but took a Command among the Malecontents under *Pompey*.

Now, if we would know what Measures are fit to be taken, where Judgments are so divided, and Reason probable and plausible enough for each to alledge in his own Justification; my poor Opinion is this: For Persons of Eminence and Character in the World; such as are in publick Trust, or great Reputation, or extraordinary Abilities, and are known to be leading and significant Men in the State, these, I conceive, not only may fall into that side, which they in their Conscience think the best; but,

so far as I am able to discern, they are bound to do it: For he is a very ill Pilot, that steers the Ship in calm and favourable Weather, and runs away from the Helm, when it grows foul and stormy: What shall become of the Vessel, if the best Hands let her drive, when there is the greatest need of working her, and keeping her tight? These Gentlemen ought, in Extremities especially, to stand in the Gap, and act like Men of Honour; the Care of the Government is upon them, and its Safety or Ruin lies at their Door. But then, for Persons in a private Capacity, such as make none at all, or but a very inconsiderable Figure in the Government, these are more at their own Liberty. For as their Condition supposes all the Assistance they can contribute, to be of no mighty Consequence, so the with-holding that Assistance can do no great Damage: And therefore they may be allowed to retire into some Place of Security, and seek their own Ease and Quiet, at a Distance, from the Noise and Clutter of the contending Parties. But then both these kind of Men, those that do, and those that do not declare, lie under an Obligation to demean themselves, in such manner as I am going to prescribe. In the mean while I add thus much only upon the present Subject, concerning those who are disposed to come in and act: That in the choosing what Party they should side with, sometimes the Case is so plain, that it is almost impossible they can be mistaken. For where the Injustice of the Cause, and other Disadvantages are so evident, that they look one full in the Face, and forbid him; no Man of common Sense will go in thither. But it often happens, that there are Reasons on both sides; each pretends



pretends Right and Justice: And each hath Advantages to invite us; and then the Difficulty of coming to a Resolution is very great; because a Man must not only weigh the Arguments on both sides, and settle the Point of Right and Wrong first; but he hath several other Considerations to attend to, such as may, and ought to carry some Weight with them, though they have not immediately respect to the Justice of the Cause.

And now it may be seasonable to proceed to the other Part of this Advice; which relates to the Behaviour of the Persons under these several Capacities. To all which, I might satisfy my self with prescribing in one Word, Moderation and Temper; that they would particularly take *Atticus* for their Pattern, whose Name hath been so much celebrated for his Prudence and Modesty in the midst of that boisterous Age in which he lived: One, who was always believed in his Judgment to favour the right Side, and respected by all good Men for doing so; but yet one, who behaved himself so prudently and inoffensively, that he never involved himself in the common Confusions, nor drew down the Displeasure of ill Men, or any Inconvenience from that Party, who were sensible enough he did not approve their Proceedings.

But, to be a little more particular; and first, for them, who openly declare themselves; it is certain, that these ought by no means to be violent, or betray indecent Heats and Passions in their Conversation; but carry themselves modestly and decently, and reserve their Warmth for Times of Action, or till some very just Occasion happens to call for it. They should not be pert, nor forward, nor officiously

BOOK. III. officiously thrust themselves upon Business, till they  
 ~~~~~ are required, and in some Measure importuned;  
 nay, compelled to it: For in such Circumstances
 no Man can be active without Odium; and there-
 fore it is sufficient that we obey our Call, and fol-
 low Duty, without being so eager as to run before
 it, and start of our own Accord. But when we
 are called, and must act, then we should take Care
 to render the Execution of our Duty as little invi-
 dious as may be; to do all with such Temper and
 Tenderneſs, that the Storm may fly over our Heads,
 and no angry Reſentments, or infamous Reflections
 remain behind; never inflaming, or in any Degree
 encouraging, much leſs allowing our ſelves in the
 Commiſſion of thoſe abominable Outrages and In-
 ſolencies uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; but employ-
 ing our utmoſt Endeavour to mollify and ſweeten
 Men; to divert them from injurious and disorder-
 ly Methods; and by all imaginable Arts, trying to
 elude and break all Deſigns of this Nature.

Thoſe who have not declared themſelves openly,
 by actually engaging in any Party (whoſe Circum-
 ſtances, with regard to the Eaſineſs and Tranquillity
 of them, are without doubt much to be preferred
 before the former) Thoſe, I ſay, who have given
 the World no viſible and authentick Teſtimony of
 their Affections to one or other Party (tho' at the
 ſame Time they may in their own Breſts be much
 more inclined, and wiſh better to the one than the
 other) ought not to continue in a State of abſolute
 Neutrality. My Meaning is, that they ſhould not
 expreſs a perfect Indifference how Matters go, and
 have no Solicitude beyond their own private Affairs;
 for this is to ſit like Spectators in a Play-Houſe,
 and

and entertain themselves with the Tragical Misfortunes of other People; which is a Coldness highly criminal, where the Peace and Welfare of our Country lie at Stake. Such regardless Men as these, are justly detested by all Sides; and if their own Personal Safety be what they aim at, the Imagination is very vain; for no sort of People run a greater Risque, nor are worse treated than they. We see what was the Fate of *Thebes* in the War with *Xerxes*, and of the Inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead*, in the Time of the *Israelitish* Judges. *Livy* hath observed very justly to this Purpose, that * *Neutrality never makes one Friend the more, nor one Enemy the less*. It is indeed neither just nor becoming, and can never look well, or be so, except with Allowance of the Parties concerned. We see therefore what different Measures the Two great *Roman* Generals took in this Respect. *Cæsar* declared that he took it for granted, all that stood Neuter, were his Friends; *Pompey* declared, he looked upon all such as his Enemies. In a Stranger indeed this is very allowable; for he is under no Obligation to meddle in the Concerns of a Country that is none of his own; and so it is likewise in Persons, whose eminent Character and Quality may make it beneath them to become Parties, in such Differences, which they ought rather to be addressed to as Umpires, and Mediators to determine.

Nor may be Men, much less indeed may they shew themselves, fickle and inconstant; sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on the other; changing their Shape like *Proteus*, and in the worst Sense of the Words, becoming *all things to all Men*. These

* *Neutralitas nec Amicos parit, nec Inimicos tollit.*

are

BOOK III. are Mungrels, and as such, an odious and despicable Breed, worse than the former, who continue in a State of Neutrality; and more offensive to all, while they make it their Business to please, and be more agreeable to all; for every Man ought to act upon Principles, and to stick for something.

But, tho' Men ought to encline to one Side in their Wishes and Affections, because Wishes and Affections are entirely our own; yet in their Actions and Deportment, the Case is otherwise; these are what others have some Right and Interest in; and therefore, so far as relates to Conversation, these ought to be extended to all Parties in Common. There is a Title antecedent to all these accidental Differences and Divisions, which they cannot disannul; and therefore we are bound to be offensive, injurious, rude and unconvertable to none; but to do Offices of Kindness and Courtesy, and common Humanity to every Body, notwithstanding any Contrariety of Interests and Opinions. And thus far at least, all should agree to lament, and as much as in them lies, to heal the publick Breaches and Misfortunes. Such Persons secure themselves from all the Inconveniencies mentioned before; they create no new Enemies, and they lose none of their old Friends. These are Persons of a Temper fit to be employ'd as Mediators, and the most likely of any to succeed in bringing Matters to a fair and amicable Composition; which those who endeavour, do yet better, and are more serviceable, than they who content themselves with Expressions of Courtesy and common Friendship, to Men of all Parties indifferently. So then, it appears upon the whole Matter, that there may be Four Sorts of Persons, who

who are not actually engaged in any Party; Two of which are blameable, and these are the Neuter, or Indifferent, and the Veering, or Unsteady; the other Two are useful and commendable; and these are the Converfable or Courteous to all without Distinction; and the Mediators in order to Agreement; but still in each of these Kinds, one exceeds the other; the Inconstant Man exceeds in Blame above the Neuter; and the Mediator Merit and Commendation above the common Friend. Of those that declare and act openly, there are likewise Two Sorts, with the same Differences, the Eager and Violent, and the Moderate and Well-temper'd.

S E C T. XIII.

Of private Differences and Disorders.

IT may very reasonably be expected, that I should not dismiss this Head of Prudence, without speaking to one very frequent Difficulty more; which is, How Men ought to behave themselves in the Quarrels or Misunderstanding of private Persons, and particular Families. And here one is to consider, both what is most convenient for his own Affairs, and what can in reason be expected from him. If the Persons thus at Enmity be such as have no indispensable Tie upon him, he may very fairly keep in with them both; and though perhaps he cannot love, or approve of both alike, yet he may, and will do well, to be obliging and kind to both, and give just Offence to neither. It is great Imprudence in these Cases, to engage so far with one Side, that they shall expect to have us entirely to themselves,

Book III. selves, and think us bound in Honour and Friendship, to espouse all their Interests, and make all their Resentments our own: And therefore the better Way will be to keep upon a Reserve; to be content with a moderate Share of their Favour and good Graces. To say nothing in their Company tending to the Matter in Controversy; but to talk altogether of indifferent Things; or at least such as we personally know to be true, or are otherwise very well assur'd of: If we touch upon the Dispute, to say what may be for the Service of both, and may tend to their Reconciliation, and better Understanding. But by no means submitting to that vile Practice of reporting idle Stories, or groundless Surmises; or aggravating Things that have some Foundation; or currying Favour, by discommending or railing at the Adversary of him with whom we converse. For Matters here ought to be carry'd with such an even Hand, that nothing should pass in Company with the one, which we would not speak if the other were by; nay, that nothing should be said to the one, which we would not say to another in his Turn too; allowing only for some little Alterations in the Forms and Manner of our Address; which the different Circumstances of the Persons, or the Relation or Authority we pretend to with them, or some other accidental Consideration, foreign to the Subject of the Quarrel it self, may render seasonable, and seem to require from us.

Justice,

Justice, the Second Cardinal Virtue.

C H A P. V.

Of Justice in General.

JUSTICE consists in rendering to every one CHAP. V. whatsoever of Right belongs to him; paying ^{1.} first to himself his own Duty, and then to others ^{What it is.} theirs. And, according to this Definition, it comprehends all Manner of Duties and Offices, which each particular Person can be any way oblig'd to. Now these, as I hinted before, are of Two Sorts, according to the Objects of them, which are Two: The First terminates in Man's own Person; the Second in other People: All which in their utmost Latitude fall within the Compass of that most extensive Command, which hath express'd the Substance and Sum of all Justice, in those very few, but significant Words, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* For here it is very observable, that the Duty to others is put in the Second Place; that the Love and Duty we owe to our selves, is laid as the Ground-work upon which that to our Neighbour is superstructed, and the Model by which it is to be proportion'd. For, as the old *Hebrews*, and not they only, but all the World use to say, *Charity begins at home.*

The Beginning then, and the Foundation of all Justice, is to be sought for within our selves; and the most antient and fundamental Right, of all ^{2.} Primitive and original Justice. others, is that Dominion which Reason hath over the sensual Part of us. A Man must be able to command

BOOK III.

command and govern himself, before he can be qualify'd to exercise this Authority, in demanding Subjection from others. And this Government of one's self consists in reserving to Reason the Power of bearing Sway, and keeping the Appetites under; reducing and restraining them to their just Measures and Degrees, and bowing their stubborn Necks, till they become flexible, and obedient to Discipline. The preserving our Souls in this Order and Posture is what we may call, *Primitive, Original, and Internal Justice*, the most genuine, the brightest, and infinitely most beautiful of any thing that goes by that Name. This Sovereignty and Dominion of the Rational, over that sensual and brutish Part of the Soul, which is the Source of all our Passions, and by them of all other Troubles and Disorders, hath been by some Authors, not unfitly resembled to a Rider managing his Horse; keeping himself firm in the Saddle, and the Rein constantly in his Hand; by which he rules and turns the Beast under him at Pleasure.

3.
*Distin-
guished.*

To give an exact and nice Account of that Justice which goes abroad, and is exercis'd in our Dealings with other People, it is necessary to observe first of all, that there are Two Sorts of it. The one Natural, Universal, Generous, and Brave, Rational, and Philosophical; the other in a great Degree Artificial, Particular, Positive, and Political; contrived and cramp'd up, according to the Exigencies of particular Countries and Constitutions, would allow it a larger, or have confin'd it to a narrower Compass. The former of these is much the more regular and uniform, more firm and inflexible, clearer and fairer of the Two: But alas! it is antiquated
and

and absolute, capable of doing very little Service to the World, as it now stands. This occasion'd that Complaint, * *That the Substance and express Image of true Right and Justice was long since fled and gone; and all we live by now, is only some faint Shadows, and imperfect Copies of that original Representation, taken from the Life it self.* These are like the first Sketches of a Night-piece; but they are such as Mankind must be contented with, since though the Darkness of their Conditions need a stronger Light, yet their present Infirmities cannot bear any thing so exquisitely bright. This is what they say of *Polyclerus's Rule*, Inflexible, Unalterable. The other is more slack, and limber, and pliable; it comes to and accommodates itself to the Necessities and the Weaknesses of Mankind, nay of the generality; and that to be sure is the worst and most ignorant Part. This is a *Leaden* and a *Lesbian Rule*, a *Nose of Wax*, that bends into any Form, and may be wrought into any Figure; and indeed is bow'd and chang'd perpetually, according to the different Exigencies and Circumstances of Time, and Place, and Person; the posture of Affairs, and the variety of Accidents. This, in case of Necessity and Convenience, dispenses with, allows, nay approves of several things, which the other will not so much as connive at, but must absolutely condemn, and cannot admit upon any Consideration whatsoever. This establishes some Vices, and gives them not only the Countenance, but sometimes the Sanction of a Law, and rejects several Actions, in themselves innocent and good, as unlawful and not to be practis'd. Natural Justice

* Veri Juris germanæque Justitiæ solidam & expressam effigiem nullam tenemus; umbris & imaginibus utimur.

Book III. looks only at the Reason, the Equity, the Virtue, the Decency and Fitness of the thing: But positive and political Justice proceeds upon other sort of Considerations; it hath a great, I might almost say, principal Regard, to the Advantage, the Convenience; at least its main Aim and Business is to reconcile these two, and make Profit and Probity go Hand in Hand, and so mutually promote and assist each other. Since therefore this is the only kind, which the World is manag'd by, and the Design of the present Treatise is to reform Men's Manners, and to better them in such Points as are practicable, we will confine ourselves wholly to this latter sort. For it must needs be to very little purpose to insist upon the former; of which there is nothing now but the *Idea* and bare Speculation left.

^{4.}
Of Justice as now in use. Now this Justice at present in common use, and that which is esteem'd the Judge and Standard of human Actions, is first of all Twofold, with regard to the Rules and Measures of it. The one is what we call legal Justice, because it is bound up by the Terms and Letter of the Law; and this is that Rule which Magistrates and Judges are obliged to determine, and proceed by. If any Injury be, as there often is, great Injury done or suffer'd by such Decisions, they who pass the Sentence are in no degree accountable for it; because their Business is not to make the Law, but to be govern'd by, and act according to the Law; and so there is no help, but they must take it, as it lies before them. The other is term'd *equitable Justice*; and this hath a larger Range allow'd it; it is not fetter'd up to Words and Syllables, but hath a Liberty left to consider the present Exigency, the Circumstances of the Person,
• the

the Hardships of his Case ; and so can administer Relief, and determine the Point in Dispute, in a Latitude, not only beyond, but sometimes even above and contrary to the Letter of the Law. Or indeed, to speak more properly, this Equity overrules and manages the Law to the best Advantage, and directs it so, as to answer its proper End, by making the Execution of the Law agreeable to the Intention, and the Reasons of enacting of it. Upon this account it is, that a wise Man said very truly, that Laws and Justice were not sufficient of themselves, unless they fell into good Hands, and were justly and skilfully manag'd; that is, unless their Sentence proceed upon equitable Considerations. And this larger and freer way of Proceeding is the peculiar Province of the supreme Judge; the Prince in Person, or those, who in the Construction and Practice of the Law, are commission'd by him for this purpose, and so equivalent in all they do to his own doing it. For his Authority is present, though his Person be not; and this is the more effectual, more powerful Presence of the two.

Again, if we descend to consider this Justice more particularly, there will another Division offer itself to us, with regard to the different Methods of proceeding. One of which is call'd *commutative Justice*, because it consists in buying and selling, bargaining, and all manner of Commerce; for the several kinds of this are reduc'd to that one general Practice, of trucking and bartering one thing for another. And this is the Justice in exercise among private Men; the Rule whereof is Arithmetical Proportions; for our Care is to make what we give and what we receive in Exchange, of equal Value. The other is

Book III. *distributive Justice*; and this is administred by the publick, in Rewards and Punishments: The Rule whereof is geometrical Proportion; wherein an exact and nice Equivalent is not aim'd at, nor just the Merit and Quality of the Fact, and nothing else attended to; but several other Considerations taken in: And the last Result of the whole Debate is this, what, upon a fair Computation of all Circumstance put together, is reasonable and fitting for the one to give, or to award; and for the other to receive, or to suffer.

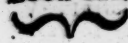
5.
No such
thing as
strict and
true Justice
in the
World.

Now this Justice at present in common use, when it comes to be closely and critically examin'd, will be found to be no such thing as strict and perfect Justice: For the Truth is, as I said before, human Nature is not capable of such a thing; it is too refin'd for our gross Condition, and we cannot bear this, or any other thing in its abstracted Excellence or Purity. In all practicable Justice there is a Mixture of Injustice, Favour, and Rigour; too much and too little: These, like the Alloy in our Coin, are properly call'd the *Remedy*; for such indeed they are to the corrupt and degenerate State of Mankind. There is no such thing as pure and true Standard current among us; that exact Mediocrity, which we can only form, and truly now can scarce form in our Imaginations. Hence proceed those Maxims of the Antients, that he who designs to do Justice in the Gross, will find himself under an unavoidable Necessity to be unjust in the Retail; for no general Rule can be constantly observ'd, but some particular Persons and Cases will find themselves aggriev'd by it. And he that will be just in great and important Occasions, must sometimes be unjust

unjust in those of less Consequence. These are CHAP. V. Difficulties so well known, so generally felt and confess'd, that in Matters of Commerce and *Commutative Justice*, some Lawgivers heretofore were forc'd, in order to the bringing the Business of Trade under some Rule, and restraining the Exorbitancies of it somewhere, to give leave to Men to cheat to some certain Degree (as for Instance, not to exceed half of what the Commodity was really worth) without being liable to the Law. And this they were forc'd to connive at, because they could fix it no better. Again, in the Case of *distributive Justice*, how many innocent Persons are clapp'd up? How many guilty acquitted and releas'd? And all this without any Corruption or Fault of the Judges. And to how much greater a Sum would this Account swell, if, to unjust Condemnations and Acquittals, we should add the Excesses and Defects in Punishments, how much more or less hath been awarded, than the Sufferer really deserv'd? For this is almost the constant daily Failure, even where Justice is administred with the cleanest Hands, and most unblemish'd Integrity of Heart. Justice indeed perplexes and hinders it self; and the greatest and most acute Understanding cannot penetrate into the bottom of Things. To see, and make Provision against all Inconveniencies, requires Abilities and Providence more than Human.

But, that we may not be thought to complain without Cause, and shelter ourselves in Generals, I will now give an Instance, and that a very considerable one, wherein *distributive Justice* seems to me to fall exceeding short: And that is, in inflicting Punishments when Men do amiss, but not pro-

BOOK III.


 viding any Rewards to distinguish those that do well; and that too, notwithstanding the dispensing of these two, are the two great Branches, and, as it were, the two Hands of Justice; and yet, as this is commonly exercis'd in Courts of Judicature, Justice is maim'd and crippled, and inclines altogether to the punishing Side. The greatest Favour we can hope to receive from this lame Goddess, is Indemnity, and a Manifestation of our own Innocence: And this alas! is short Commons; a poor Allowance for those to subsist upon, who have signaliz'd themselves by eminent and difficult Virtues. But this, as bad as it is, is not the worst of the Matter; for I will put you another Case that happens every Day. You shall be inform'd against, imprison'd, indicted wrongfully, and under these Calumnies suffer exceedingly, in your Person, your Purse, your Reputation; you are brought to Trial, and acquitted; this you will say makes some, though but some Amends neither, to your Credit: Your Innocence is proclaim'd to all the World: And what now is the Fruit of all this Suffering and Expence? Why you escape the Severity of the Law: A goodly Satisfaction indeed! A Man is not punish'd that never deserv'd it. But where is the Reparation for all the Trouble and Charge you have been at? For this will stick by you, and can never be wip'd off, though the Suspicion, and Scandal, and all the Dirt that a false Accuser bespatter'd you with, may. The Plaintiff or Informer in the mean while, if he can but bring the least Colour of Probability for what he depos'd against you, comes off clear; and a very easy thing it is, to make any thing look so suspicious, as shall suffice to prevent the recovering

ing

ing of Damages upon him : So very niggardly, so shamefully miserable is Justice in the Matter of Rewards, and gratifying Men for having deserv'd well, and so entirely addicted to Punishment ; insomuch, that now the Word is brought to signify, that by way of Eminence, and doing Justice, or being obnoxious to Justice, is constantly understood in the rigorous Sense, as if Justice had nothing else to do, but to scourge, and take Men off. And any Man, whose Disposition is litigious, and his Malice and Conscience wicked enough to put him upon it, may very easily give his Neighbours a great deal of Trouble and Charge, and without any Danger to himself, run them into such Difficulties, as they will not possibly get quit of again, without considerable Detriment and Disquiet.

Now if we would consider Justice as to the several Parts of our Duty, and the Objects in which they terminate ; these are principally three. For every Man is, by Virtue of his Nature and Condition, a Debtor to God, to Himself and to his Neighbour : So that one of his Creditors is above him ; another is upon the Level with him ; and the third is Creditor and Debtor both in one Person. The Duty to God is but another Phrase for Piety and Religion ; so that this Head of Justice hath been largely insisted upon already, in the second Part of this Treatise. And therefore, without troubling the Reader any more upon that Subject, I shall betake my self to the other two yet behind ; the Duty to ourselves, and that to our Neighbour.

C H A P. VI.

Of Justice, as that regards a Man's Duty to himself.

BOOK III.

THIS indeed is scatter'd throughout this whole Work, and every Chapter is full of it. For what else is the Design of the first Book, which attempts to bring Men thoroughly acquainted with themselves, and the Condition of human Life? What else does the second drive at in teaching Men Wisdom, and laying down general Rules for their attaining to it? What, Lastly, makes up this third Book, but especially that part of it which treats of Fortitude and Temperance, which are both of them Virtues that have a more direct Tendency, and immediate Relation to this Matter? So that any thing industriously apply'd to this Topick in particular, might perhaps be well enough spared. But however, I will here lay down some Directions, and give the Matter an express and solemn Consideration, in the most compendious Method that conveniently I can.

1. The first Advice I shall give upon this Occasion, and that which in truth is the Foundation of all the rest, is, that Men would bethink themselves, and take up a Resolution not to live *Extempore*, and at Random, from Hand to Mouth, and without any Reflection of what they are, what will become of them, and why they are here; and yet, as extravagant as all this may seem at first hearing, the greatest part of Mankind by far are guilty of it. They fool away their Time, and never live in good earnest, but pass Day after Day, without one serious Thought,
or

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1225

or troubling themselves to look at all before them. CHAP. VI.

They have no Relish, no Enjoyment of Life; nor make any other use of it, but only to employ it in unnecessary Trifles, and Things by the by. Their mighty Projects, and busy Cares, are rather a Hindrance and Perplexity, than any Furtherance to the great Ends of Living: Such Men do every thing in earnest, but live. All their Actions, and the little broken Parcels of Life, are grave and full of Attention; but the Bulk and Substance of Life goes off without any Regard or Consideration at all. This is like a self-evident Principle, or a Truth taken for granted in Speculation; upon which they never bestow a second Thought. That which is accidental and insignificant is made their principal Care; and that which ought to be their main Business neglected, as if it were only an additional and unnecessary thing. They are exceeding diligent and importunately solicitous in other Matters; some in acquiring a vast Compass of Learning; some in aspiring to Honours and Preferments; some in heaping up Riches: Others are intent upon Pleasures and Diversions; Hunting, or Play, or vain Contrivances to pass away their Time, as if this were a Burden, and hung upon their Hands: Others are taken up in useless Speculations, fanciful Notions, pretty Inventions: Others set up for Men of Business, and spend all their Days in Hurry and Noise: Others pursue Designs different from all these: But amidst this vast Variety of Follies, few or none apply themselves to the true Wisdom, by studying how to live indeed. They are thoughtful and anxious, entirely given up to, and eager of many Matters; but Life slips through their Fingers insensibly, and

is

Book III.

is turn'd to no Account. This is only in the Nature of a Term; a set Period of Time appointed to follow other Business in. Now all this is extremely injurious and unreasonable; the Source of our greatest Misery; the falsest and basest way of betraying ourselves, and abandoning our true Interest. It is perfectly losing and throwing away our Life, and the most perfidious, as well as the most fatal Breach of Duty we can possibly be guilty of. For certainly every Man owes thus much to himself, not to trifle, and be wanting in his greatest Concern; to make Life as easy, as chearful, as desirable, and good to himself as he can; which is to be done no other way, but by making the most of it in point of Usefulness, and good Management. For living well and advisedly is the only Expedient in order to dying so; and this is the great Task incumbent upon all Mortals. We ought to look upon Life as a Matter of the last Consequence; a precious Talent; an important Trust, of which we must render a strict and very particular Account; and therefore are bound to husband it thriftily, and improve it to the utmost of our Power; that we may be found faithful in our Stewardship, and gain by the Increase. This is our great Concern; all the rest are Toys and Geugaws in Comparison; inconsiderable, and very superficial Advantages. I cannot deny indeed, but some there are, who bestow some thought of this kind, and pretend to set about it with marvellous Application: But then this Thoughtfulness comes too late, and they begin to live when they are just going to die. Like foolish Chapmen, who put off their Bargains till the Shops are shut, and then complain of an ill Market. What, say

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1227

say they, shall I never get an Opportunity of re-^{CHAP. VI.}
treating from the World, and living to some Pur-
pose? Alas! * *How unseasonable it is to begin to live,*
when we can live no longer! What strange Infatuation
makes us thus forget, that we are Mortal! While we
put off to a farther Day, and intend to take up here-
after; that very Life which should have been employ'd,
is lost and gone. So good Reason had all the wise
Men of Old to call upon us so often and so loudly,
to make the best of our Time, and lose no Op-
portunities; so just is that Warning, that of all the
Necessaries of Life, Time is the greatest, the most
indispensible; what they who want and are prodig-
al of, undo themselves to all Intents and Purposes.
The shortness of Life, and the length of Art, is
not more properly apply'd to the Study of Physick,
and the Art of Healing, than it is to the Art of Liv-
ing: For this is an Art too, and such as cannot be
master'd without long Study, and great Application
of Mind. This is the true, the only Wisdom;
and therefore this present Direction is the first and
most concerning it; those that follow are but so ma-
ny Deductions from, and Helps to it.

2. The next is, that we should learn to dwell a-
lone; to be easy when by ourselves; and, if Occa-
sion so require, well content to be deprived of the
Company, and Comfort of all the World. It is
an extraordinary Attainment, to know how to en-
joy one's self; and a Virtue as well as Advantage
to take Satisfaction and perfect Content in that En-
joyment. Let us therefore set about it in good ear-
nest, and never rest till we have gain'd this Point

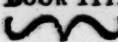
* *Quam serum est incipere vivere, cum desinendum est!*
quam stulta mortalitatis obliuio! Dum differtur vita transcurrit.
upon

Book III. upon our selves; the conquering of all our Fondnesses, and uneasy Hankerings after the Conversation of others; and the taking Delight in conversing with our own Souls; that so our Contentment may depend upon our selves alone, and not upon other People, nor upon any thing without us. But, though we should not seek Conversation as our Happiness, and what we cannot want; yet must not this Self-satisfaction degenerate into a cynnical Moroseness, or a proud affected Solitude. It is a Fault to refuse, or to disdain the Company of our Friends; this is what we ought not only to accept, but to be glad of, and good humoured in; allowing and practising all those Diversions, which pleasant Discourse, and innocent Mirth are able to give us. My Meaning is only to keep Men from being Slaves to those Diversions, and unable to relish any Pleasure without them; and such are a great part of the World, almost quite lost, and sadly to seek, what to do with themselves, when they are alone. Now every Man ought be sufficiently provided at Home for his own Entertainment; and he is very poorly supplied, who cannot subsist upon his private Stock for one Day at least. But the Man who hath brought himself to do so every Day, and needs be beholding to no Body for his Sustenance and Satisfaction of this kind, is sure to be always happy, always pleas'd. 'Tis true, in the midst of all this, he ought to be Civil and Complaisant; to put on an Air of Gaiety, or Business, comply with the Company, and do as they do; submit to the Necessity of Affairs, whenever that calls: In a Word, it will be his Prudence to accommodate his Temper and Behaviour to any thing that may happen:
But

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1229

But howsoever those Considerations may alter his outward Appearance, and oblige him to make different Figures in the Eye of the World; to put on all Humours, and shift his Manner, as oft as the Scene changes; yet still at Home, and within himself he must be always the same. This is the Effect of Meditation, and serious Thought, which is indeed the Food, the Life, the Essence of the Soul. And it is a remarkable Instance, how kind Nature hath been to us, that we thus live upon that which is the most frequent, the most lasting, the most easy and natural Employment of our Souls; for Thought is always with us, and most truly our own.

But, tho' all Men's Minds are employ'd, yet is not the Employment easy to all alike; nor the Matter they are employed upon, the same. In some, this Entertainment of themselves is meer Impotence and Childishness; the Dosings of Idleness and Sloth, the want of Business, and meerly the Effect of having nothing else to do: But great Souls make it their Choice, they court and covet the Opportunities for it, look upon it as their main Business, and most improving Study. And therefore they ply it close with their utmost Application, and Intenseness of Thought; their Faculties are all at work, and, as was said of *Scipio*, they are never less alone than when they are by themselves; never more full of Business than when retreated from the World, and sequestred from all that Men commonly call such. This, so far as Human Nature can aspire to the Resemblance of so bright an Excellence, is to imitate Almighty God; for he lives, and feeds upon the Reflections of his own Mind; and *Aristotle* guessed right, when he laid down this constant Employment

BOOK III.  ment as the Foundation of the Happiness, both of the Divine and Human Nature. For Self-sufficiency, and Self-satisfaction, are but other Words for Happiness; and these are never to be had, never to be tasted, but by learning to employ, and to entertain our selves well with our own Thoughts.

3. But then in order hereunto, great regard must be had to the Choice of fit Subjects for the Mind to dwell upon. For some People make so very ill Use of this solitary Retreat into themselves, that they are their own worst Tempters, and Company is their best Preservation; to the Intent therefore, that this Meditation may be an Employment indeed, and this Entertainment delightful; like His whose Image our Souls are, we must take care not to trifle away our Time in vain Thoughts, and much more still, not to mispend it in Vice: The first is sure to do us no manner of good, the second a great deal of harm. Some grave severe Study, some useful profound Knowledge, some Contrivance how to improve and exalt our Minds, and make our selves better Men, should be our great Employment and Concern. God hath given us Reason and Comprehension, and a large Possession; a rich Soil it is, but the manuring, and cultivating, and making it fruitful, is our Duty; the principal Task incumbent upon every Man; what the Laws of Nature and Religion have covenanted for; and what each of us must expect to give an Account of. It highly concerns us therefore to be serious and vigilant, to look narrowly into our selves, and see how matters stand with us; to call in our Cares and Endeavours unprofitably spent abroad, and try to turn these to better Account, by laying them

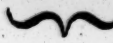
Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1231

them out upon Business more important at Home. CHAP. VI.

And when, upon Examination, we find (as find we shall) that many things are out of Course, and go much amiss: Some through the Corruption of Vice; others from some Defect of Nature; a Third by Reason of the Infection we have taken from ill Company; a Fourth upon the Account of some Accident that disorders and confounds us: When, I say, we shall thus perceive our several Failings, and the true Causes of them distinctly, our next Endeavour must be, to go considerately to work; correcting what was out of order, providing against the like Inconveniencies, and cutting off the Occasions that draw us into Danger, for the Time to come. A Man is by all means bound to bring himself to Reason, and though the Opposition made by unruly Appetites, and vicious Habits may be great, and the Difficulties very discouraging, yet Reformation is a Work that must be done! And therefore a Man ought to set about it with Resolution; to bow the stubborn Neck of his Passions, whatever it cost him; and not let all run to Ruin, and lose himself by Cowardise, or Sloth, or a disdainful unthinking Carelessness.

4. And indeed, above all things, a Man should beware of a sluggish sauntering Way of Life; for to do nothing, is to do all; the Soul gathers Rust, by lying idle and out of Use; and the Way to preserve our Minds as well as our Bodies in Health and Strength, is to keep them in Breath by constant Exercise and Employment. And here too, the Prescription holds, that the Exercise should not be too violent and laborious. There is no Occasion for a constant Intenseness of Thought; but it ought

to

BOOK III.  to be wholesome and fit for them; that our Thoughts should be serious and grave, virtuous and becoming. And if there be not enough of this kind laid ready to our Hands, we ought rather to cut out Work for our selves, than not be doing at all. And thus we may consult our own Genius, and form such Designs as may give us Pleasure and Entertainment, as well as find us Business; we may read good Books, confer with good Men, and easily contrive to lay out our Time so regularly, and in Method, as never to be in a Hurry, never at a Loss what to do next, or how to dispose of ourselves to very good Advantage.

5. Another good Direction will be, to manage all Occurrences so prudently, that all that offers, all that is done, or said, may turn to Account; to learn somewhat from every Company we come into, from every Action and Accident to take some Warning, lay down some Rule, make some Application, and bring the Matter home to ourselves; and all this in a way so silent, that no Body shall perceive it. For all the Attempts of this kind prove nauseous and offensive, if we suffer them once to be corrupted with Noise, and Vanity, and Affectation.

6. But to be a little more particular: We cannot but be sensible, that as a Man hath three Things to take care of, as either essential Parts of, or necessary Appendages to his Person; so the Duty, which every one is obliged to himself in, is the regulating and wise Management of his Mind, his Body, and his Goods. As for the Mind (which is the first, and principal, and for the Use and Benefit whereof those general Rules already laid down, are after a more peculiar manner calculated) all its Operations,

we

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1233

we know, may be reduced to these two, Cogitation, and Volition; consequently the two great Faculties to be cultivated, are the Understanding and the Will; and the Fruits to be reaped from our Care and Pains, the Ornaments and Excellencies of the Soul, are Knowledge and Virtue. As to the former of these, the Understanding; there are two vicious Extreams, and in some Sense indeed Contraries to each other, from which we should use all possible Care to preserve it untainted. The first of these is Folly; by which I understand all sorts of Vanity, empty and insignificant Imaginations, Fopperies and Trifles, such as are excusable only in Children, but unworthy the Character, and far beneath the Dignity of a Man; for this noble Creature was not made to play the Fool; * Jest and Sport may be his Recreation, but he is qualify'd and design'd for greater Things. Seriousness and severe Thought is his Business, and Matter of Weight and Importance expected from him. In the other Part of my Division, I likewise include all fantastical, absurd, and extravagant Opinions; vulgar Errors, and unreasonable Prejudices. For as Vanity debases the Soul, damps its Vigour, adulterates and basterdizes its genuine Greatness; so Prepossession and rash Mistakes, pollute and dishonour, and leave an eternal Blemish upon it. We must therefore feed and cherish this noble Creature, with Entertainment suitable to its generous Appetite and Nature; that is, with serious, substantial Studies, such as may be serviceable, and turn to some Account; we must Tincture and Soak it well (if I may so say) in Sound, agreeable Notions, such as are conformable to the

CHAP. VI.

* Non ad jocum & lusum genitus, sed ad severitatem potius.

BOOK. III. Dictates of pure Nature, and right Reason; and our Care should be not so much to exalt, and refine, and fly it high, to render it vigorous and strong, acute and nice; as to regulate and methodize it, that all its Reasonings may be stanch, its Conclusions true, its Motions orderly, and its Dispositions virtuous: For the doing Things pertinently and properly, in due Method, and Time, and Measure, is the Effect of Wisdom, and that which makes the Soul and its Attainments truly valuable. And here again great Care must be taken to keep our selves from Pertness and Self-conceit, Positiveness and Presumption; all which are Vices exceeding common among Men of acute Parts, and a lively strong Mind. It would be much wiser to put a Check upon our Forwardness; to proceed slowly and deliberately; to be content to live in Doubt, and suspend our Judgment, and confess our Ignorance, in such Matters especially as are controverted, and commonly opposed; where Reason is confronted with Reason, and Authority with Authority; and these two so plausible, so strong on both Sides, that they ask Time and Skill to consider and digest them thoroughly. Nor is this a mean Accomplishment, or below the Character of the Person I intend to instruct. For, let my Reader be well assured, it is a great Thing, and a very valuable Quality, to know how to be Ignorant with Modesty and Decency; and keeping ones self in Doubt and Suspence is the surest and safest Way to true Knowledge. This is what the most celebrated Philosophers always pretended to do; and indeed it is one of the fairest and most generous Fruits of Learning and a well-disciplined Mind.

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1235

7. As for the Will; this must be brought under Government, and made to submit it self in every Thing to the Directions of right Reason. And the reducing it thus to Subjection is the Office of Virtue, which tames and subdues it, and inclines its Ear to this wise Guide, by drawing off its Attention and Inclination from the Seducements of vain, fickle, and commonly false Opinions, and by delivering it from the Tyranny of Passion. For these are the three Principles, some of which always push on our Souls to Action, and preside over them in it; but they, who are under either of the latter, are lost and miserable to the last Degree. For do but observe the mighty Difference betwixt them! The wise Man maintains his Post; and hearkens to the true Word of Command; the Dictates of his Mind, which are agreeable to Nature and Reason; he keeps his Eye constantly upon his Duty, and regards not what he is disposed to by his Frailties and Corruptions, but what by the Law he is oblig'd to do. Whatever common Opinion would persuade him to, he always suspects for spurious; whatever Passion would prompt him to, he certainly rejects and condemns. And the Effect of this is, that he lives at Ease and Quiet, finds Peace always within, goes on smoothly, and without Disturbance; is never driven to any Necessity of altering his Measures, or acting in Contradiction to himself, or repenting of what he had done; for, let the Event be what it will, yet his Methods were right and proper; he chose the best, and made the most of his present Circumstances. And then, another Advantage he gains too, which is, to do nothing with Heat and Violence; for Reason is a cool and calm Principle.

K k k k z

Whereas

CHAP. VI

BOOK III.

Whereas, on the other Hand, the foolish Man, who gives himself up to the other two, is exorbitant and uncertain; all his Motions are excentrick and wild, he is in perpetual Confusion, at War with himself, and hath no Ease, no Satisfaction: He is doing and undoing, taking new Measures, beginning again, repenting and condemning what is past, unsteady in all his Resolutions, and dissatisfy'd with his own Choice. For indeed none but the wise Man can ever be fix'd and contented; and all other Principles but Reason and Virtue are too feeble, too fickle to settle or to satisfy us. * *When this composes us to Rest, we may expect it shall be sweet and refreshing.* A good Man will always have regard to, and stand in awe of his own Conscience; which is in reality what the Heathens use to call his good Genius or Angel; and the Reverence he bears to this, will make him careful not to step awry, and ashamed of misbehaving himself in its Presence. And the true Reason why the World is no better, is, that † *so very few People pay that Respect which is due to themselves.*

8. The Body comes next to be consider'd; and to this we owe our Assistance and good Management. 'Tis a vain and ridiculous Attempt, to separate these two principal Parts of our Persons, and pretend to lay out all our Care and Tenderness upon the one, to the Prejudice and defrauding of its Fellow: On the contrary, a good Understanding, and mutual Kindness ought to be maintain'd between them; that by reciprocal Offices they may be still more closely allied, more intimately join'd. Nature

* Nulla placidior Quies nisi quam Ratio composuit.

† Rarum est, ut satis se quisque vereatur.

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1237

hath bestow'd a Body upon us, as our necessary Re-^{CHAP. VI.}
ceptacle and Instrument of Life; and therefore the
Soul, which is the Principal, ought to take the
Guardianship and Protection of it. It must not en-
slave itself to the Body, 'tis true, for this were to
draw the basest, most unjust, most dishonoura-
ble and reproachful of all Servitudes upon its own
Head; but it is bound to succour, to direct, to ad-
vise, and to perform the part of an affectionate
Husband to this Flesh which Providence hath mar-
ried it to. Care and Love is its due, though Sub-
mission be not; and the Soul should give it the Treat-
ment of a Master, not the imperious and arbitrary
Usage of a Tyrant; it must cherish, but not cram
it, and shew, that if it does not live for the Body,
yet it cannot live here without the Body. One
great part of the Artificer's Excellence, is to be
expert and dextrous in using the Tools that belong
to his Trade: And it is no less Advantage, that a
wise Man finds in knowing how his Body ought to
be used, and employing it as an Instrument excel-
lently fitted for the Exercise and Promotion of Vir-
tue. Now the way to preserve the Body in a good
Condition, and in keeping it fit for Service, is by mo-
derate Diet, and regular Exercise. What share the
Mind ought to have in the Pleasures and Gratifica-
tions of Sense, and how far it is allow'd to bear the
Body company in them, hath been already shew'd
in part, and will be explain'd more largely and parti-
cularly hereafter, when we come to treat of the
Virtue of Temperance.

9. The last Branch of this Consideration con-
cerns the Goods or Estate; and for the adjusting ex-
actly what are the Duties of each particular Person

in this respect, we shall do well to observe, that there are several Offices and Arts relating to this Matter. There is a gathering or increasing Part, the keeping or saving, the managing, the expending, the trafficking, and turning the Penny: For these are in a manner so many distinct Sciences. A Man may be very knowing, and a perfect Master in one, and yet altogether ignorant and unexperient'd in the rest of them. The getting Part seems to be more difficult and intricate, and to consist of more several Parts than any of the others. The expending Part is that which brings most Honour and Reputation. The saving and managing Part is the proper Province of the Mistress of a Family; and this is but a dull Business, obscure and mean in common Esteem, by reason the Methods and the Fruits of it are not so visible as the rest; but yet so necessary, that this is the Defence and Security of all, and, ordinarily speaking, our other Cares are to very little purpose without it.

There are two Extreames in this Case, both equally vicious and blameable; the one is the Fondness and inordinate Love of Riches, the other hating and refusing them. By Riches, at present I understand, all that Wealth, which is the Overplus of what Necessity and the Competency according to our Quality require to be supply'd with. Now a wise Man will run into neither of these; but proportions his Desires according to that Prayer of *Prov. xxx. Solomon, Give me neither Poverty nor Riches; feed me with Food convenient for me.* He will do them Justice, and allow them their proper Place in his Esteem, looking upon them as they really are, a Thing indifferent in its own Nature; the Occasion and

Of Justice, as it regards one's Self. 1239

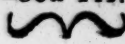
and Ground of either Good or Evil, according CHAP. VI.
as they fall into good or ill Hands; but capable of
being made use of to many excellent Purposes: And
this is all the Value they can fairly challenge from us.

The Miseries and Mischiefs which attend the im- Book I.
moderate Love of Riches, and the peevish and hu- Chap. 23.
mourfome Hatred of them, have been spoken to in
the former Parts of this Treatise. And therefore
all I have now left me to do is, to lay down that
golden Rule, which consists in the Mean between
these two Extreams; and that I think will be done
in these five Particulars.

First, It consists in preferring and being pleas'd
with them, but not setting our Affections upon them.
Thus the Philosopher describes his wise Man, * *One
that is not fond of Riches, but yet had rather have them
than not.* A Man may be sensible of the Conveni-
ence of a Thing, and know how to value it as it de-
serves, without placing his Heart, and his Happiness
in it. Thus, for Instance, a Person of low Stature,
and weak Limbs, would be glad and well pleas'd to be
taller and better built; and yet it never breaks his Rest,
nor makes him reflect upon himself as miserable, for
not being so. He that seeks what Nature desires,
without Passion and Uneasiness, puts himself out of
the Power of Fortune; and he that is content with
what Fortune cannot take away from him, is the
Man agreeable to this first part of the Character.

But, *Secondly*, If Passion and Anxiety be a Fault
even in those who seek to enrich themselves by fair
and honest Means only, much less can we be al-
low'd to endeavour our own Profit by the Loss and
Detriment of others. For this is to feed and grow

* Sapiens non amat divitias, sed mavult.

BOOK III.  fat at their Expence. No, nor yet may we pursue Riches by base, and pitiful, and sordid Arts; but should take care that all our Increase be so honourable and becoming, that no Man shall have any Temptation but his own Wickedness and Ill-nature, to complain of our Proceedings, or grudge us our good Fortune, or once to say, that it is pity such Blessings should be bestow'd upon us.

Thirdly, When the good Providence of God puts these Opportunities and Advantages into our Hands, and Wealth comes in upon us in an honest and creditable Way, we are not to reject and disdain it; but receive it with Thankfulness and Satisfaction, and let it in, but not let it in too far. Riches should be admitted into our Houses, but not into our Hearts; we may take them into our Possession, but not into our Affections. For this is going too deep, and doing them an Honour, much greater than they can ever deserve.

Fourthly, When we have them, we should employ them honourably, virtuously, discreetly, and convert them into Instruments of doing good Offices, and being obliging to others; that the manner of their going out may be at least as innocent, and as creditable, as that of their coming in.

Lastly, Whenever they take their Flight, and forsake us, we are not to be dejected, nor melancholy at the Loss; but should consider, that though they took themselves away, they did not deprive us of any thing which was properly and truly our own: And therefore, * *If they give us the slip, there is no Robbery or Wrong in the Case*; for we had no indefeasible Right in them before. In one Word, that

* Si Divitiæ effluerint non auferent nisi semetipsas.

Man

Man ill deserves the Love and Favour of God, and ought to quit all his Pretensions to Virtue, and Philosophy, and Religion, who cannot support himself with these Comforts, but allows the Enjoyments of this World the principal Place in his Esteem.

** Dare to be Poor, accept of homely Food ;
Be more than Man, and emulate a God. Mr. Dryden.*

*Of Justice between Man and Man: Or, the
Duty towards our Neighbour.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

T HIS Duty is very comprehensive, and shoots out into a great many Branches: For the Convenience of treating it more methodically, we will make our first Division into two general Parts. The first of these shall contain all such Duties as are common and universal, requir'd from all and every Man, to all and every Man: And that, whether they regard Thought, Word, or Deed: And these are Love, Fidelity, Truth, Freedom in advising and admonishing, Beneficence, Humanity, Liberality, and Gratitude. The Second extends it self to all special Duties; such I mean, as depend upon particular Reasons, and express Obligations; which concern some certain Persons and Relations, and not others: As those between Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Princes and Subjects, Magistrates and Private Persons, the great and the mean Man.

** Aude Hospes contemnere opes, & Te quoque dignum ---
Finge Deo.*

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

*The first Part of Justice ; or those universal Duties, due from all to all in common.
And first of Love.*

BOOK III.

What it is.

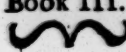
LOVE is a pure, a holy, and a generous Fire, kindled in our Breasts by Nature ; its primitive and original Warmths were first discern'd in the mutual Affection of Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Brothers and Sisters : But then, cooling by degrees as it dilated it self, Art and human Invention found Means to blow it up again, and supply fresh Fuel by the Institution of Alliances, Societies, Fraternities, Colleges, and other Incorporations, by which the Parts of Mankind are cemented and united. Now in regard that these artificial Flames underwent the same Fate with those natural ; and burnt more feeble and dim, as they were expanded and subdivided, as also, that their Heat is much allay'd, by the Mixture of Profit, Convenience, Delight, and such other selfish Considerations ; therefore to cherish and recruit this Fire again, Choice hath contriv'd to unite its scatter'd Forces, and contract them into the narrowest Compass that can be, by the ferventest and tenderest of all Affections, that between true Friends. And this indeed is Love in Perfection ; as much more ardent, and endearing, and refin'd than any other, as the vital Heat in the Heart is more intense than that of the Liver, or the Blood in the Veins.

2.

Love is the very Life and Soul of the World ; more necessary to its Subsistence and Well-being
(say

(say the Philosophers) than those two Servants which we cannot want, Fire and Water. The *Latins* therefore have given a good Intimation of this, in terming Friendship *Neceffitudo*, and Friends *Neceffarii*: This is the Sun, the Staff, the Salt of Life; all is dark and comfortless without the Light of this cheering Fire; all feeble and tottering without this firm Support; all flat and insipid, till this seasons, and gives a graceful Relish. To this purpose that wise Man, *A faithful Friend is a strong Defence, the Medicine of Life; and he that findeth him, findeth a great Treasure.* CHAP. VII.
Ecclus. vi.
14, 16.

Nor may we suppose this Virtue serviceable and necessary to private Persons only; or that the Pleasures and Charms of it are confin'd to small Numbers, and secret Retirements; its Joys and its Beauties are equally, nay more ravishing and delightful, more useful and seasonable to larger Bodies, and publick Communities of Men. For this is the true Mother, the Bearer and Breeder up of human Society; and all States and politick Constitutions are maintain'd and preserv'd by virtue of her Influence. None but Tyrants and Monsters are jealous of, or have a dislike to it; not but that even they adore this Virtue in their Hearts, and have a secret Esteem for it; but because they themselves cannot come within the Verge and Benefit of it, therefore they bid it open Defiance. Love is powerful enough of itself to keep the World in order, without the Addition of any other Helps: And were it suffer'd to have free Course, and operate every where with its utmost Vigour, the Necessity of all Laws would be quite superseded. For Laws were only a Refuge taken in to help at a dead Lift, and as the best Remedy


 medy that could then be found, to supply the Defect and Decays of Love; and the very End and Aim of these, is to bring Men by Authority and Compulsion to do that almost whether they will or no, which they ought to have done freely and out of Inclination, upon a Principle of Kindness. But still Laws fall far short of this, in Point of Efficacy and Extent: For these can only take cognizance of Overt-acts, and pretend not to restrain or make Provision against any other: Whereas Love goes to the Bottom, regulates the Heart as well as the Tongue and the Hands; purifies the Will, and directs its Operations; thus sweetning the very Spring, whence all our Actions flow. Upon this Account *Aristotle* seems to have said, that wise and good Lawgivers have a greater regard to Love than to Justice. And because in this wretched Degeneracy of Mankind, both the one and the other of these are but too often slighted and defeated, therefore a third Remedy hath been thought of, but that still less effectual in its Operations, and less valuable in itself than either of the former; which is Force of Arms, than which nothing can be more directly contrary to that first Principle of Love. And thus you have a short Scheme laid before you of politick Institutions and Government, and by what Steps they grew, or rather indeed fell and sunk down into that Condition we now see them in. But still the first and single Principle of Amity is worth all, incomparably above all the rest; as indeed it usually happens in other Cases, that the second and subsidiary Remedies never come up to the first and principal; for these are the Effects of Choice, and taken for their own sakes; but those, the last Shifts of necessitated

necessitated Men, who in their Extremity lay hold CHAP. VII.
on any thing that comes next, and must be content
to take what they can get.

There is, it must be confest, great Ambiguity
in this Term of Love, and many Distinctions have
accordingly been made, which were but needful to
give us a true Idea of the Variety of Passions pro-
ceeding from it. The Ancients were wont to di-
vide it into four sorts, Natural, Social, Hospitable,
and Venereal. But this Division, so far as I can ap-
prehend, does not do the Business; and therefore
we will try another Method, and distinguish it these
three following ways.

First, with regard to the Causes that create it; ^{4.} *Distin-*
and they are four; Nature, Virtue, Profit, and *guish'd as*
Pleasure; and these sometimes advance altogether *to Causes.*
in a Body; sometimes two or three of them; and
very often one of them appears single. But of all
these, Virtue is the noblest Cause, and the most
powerful; for this is pure and refin'd, and hath its
Residence in the Heart, the Seat of Love itself.
Nature runs in the Blood, Profit lies in the Purse,
and Pleasure is confin'd to some particular Part, and
works but upon the Senses of the Body, except
at a Distance, and by Reflection only. Accord-
ingly Virtue is more free, and open, and pure, and
firm in its Affection; for all the other Causes, when
destitute of this, are sordid and mean, fickle and of
short Continuance. He that loves upon the Ac-
count of Virtue, can never be weary, because there are
always fresh Charms to attract and entertain him;
and if such a Friendship happen to break off, he
hath no reason to complain, because the Breach
could not have been, if all that was worth his Love
had

BOOK III. had not fail'd. He that loves for Profit, if a Breach happen there, is full of immoderate Complaints; but expos'd to very just Reproach, for having spar'd no Pains, and yet gaining nothing by all his Trouble. He that loves for Pleasure, when the Satisfaction ceases, the Passion ceases too; and he takes leave of the Object, without murmuring or complaint.

^{5.}
The Persons. The second Distinction relates to the Parties concern'd in this Affection; and of these there are three sorts remarkable: One proceeds in a direct Line between Superiors and Inferiors; and this descending Line is either natural, as between Parents and Children, Uncles and Nephews; or legal and political, as between a Prince and his Subjects, a Lord and his Vassals, a Master and his Servants, a Tutor and his Pupil; a Prelate, or Preacher; or Magistrate; and the People under his Care. Now, if one would speak properly, and go to the Nicety of the thing, this is not true Love; by reason of the Distance and great Disparity between the Circumstances of the Parties, which hinders that Easiness and Privacy, that Familiarity and entire Communication, which is the principal Fruit and Consequence of Love; as also, upon the Account of that Obligation there lies upon them, which leaves such Persons very little at their own Disposal in this Matter, and so takes off from that Freedom suppos'd in this Virtue, making the Affection rather an Effect of Duty and Necessity, than of Choice. And in Consideration of this it is, that we call it by other Names more suitable to those Engagements. Thus Inferiors, we say, owe Honour and Respect and Obedience to those above them; and Superiors owe
Care,

Care, and Protection, Vigilance, and kind Condescension to those beneath them.

The second sort of Love, with regard to the Parties, proceeds in a collateral Line; and this is between such as are either almost or altogether Equals. This again is twofold, either Natural, or Voluntary. The Natural first, as between Brothers, Sisters, Cousins, and the like; which is more properly call'd Love than the former, because there is less Disparity in their Condition, and so more room for Familiarity and free Converse; but then here is an Obligation from Nature too, and that such a one that loosens or slackens that Knot in one respect, which it ties and binds us by in another. For many Quarrels and Misunderstandings commonly arise between these Relations, upon the Account of Portion, Inheritance, and that Variety of Business and Interests, wherein they are mutually concern'd. Besides, that very frequently there wants that Similitude and exact Agreement of Humours and Inclinations, which is the very Life and Essence of true and entire Affection. *I must confess he is an ill Man, or a Fool, but he is my Brother, or my Relation,* are Complaints exceeding common in the Mouths of such Persons: But then there is likewise a free and voluntary Love between Equals, such as that of intimate Acquaintance, and Friends; which hath no other Band of Union but Affection only; and this is what in the strict and proper Signification of the Word, we call *Amity* or *Love*.

The third sort, with respect to the Persons concern'd, is a Mixture and Compound of the two former; from whence it follows, that each Ingredient having its due Force, this Composition ought to be
much

BOOK III. much stronger than either of the other can possibly be alone; and such is the conjugal Affection between Husband and Wife. This hath somewhat of the direct and descending Line, by reason of the Superiority of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife; and it hath a great deal of the collateral Line too, upon the Account that this is a Society instituted for Familiarity and mutual Comfort: An Imitation whereof Almighty God himself seems to have given us, in the first Creation of Woman, by taking her out of the Substance of Man, yet not out of his Head, nor his Feet, but his Side. And thus married Persons do, and are oblig'd to exercise these two sorts of Affection in their Behaviour to each other; but each of them so, as may be most seasonable and becoming. In publick, the Duties of the direct Line take Place; for a wise Woman will always be sure to treat her Husband before Company with Submission and Respect; but in private and alone, the Familiarities of the collateral Line, and all imaginable Freedoms are to be practis'd. This conjugal Affection is likewise twofold; and of a compounded Nature in another Respect: for it is both spiritual and corporeal; an Union of Bodies as well as Souls; which is a Qualification peculiar to this alone, and such as no other kind of Love can pretend to, except that which is abusively and most injuriously stiled so, and such as not only all wholesome Laws, but even Reason and Nature itself have always disallow'd and condemn'd. Upon these several Accounts then this Affection of a married State is fitted to be exceeding great and strong, powerful and endearing: But yet there are two or three Rubs in the way, that check and cool

cool it, and very seldom suffer it to rise up to all the Perfections of a just Friendship. One is, that no Part here is left to their own Liberty, but the first Entrance upon it. When once they are in, they must make their best on't, for there is no getting out again, the Persisting and Continuance in this Society is irreversibly bound upon them; and this Constraint is the universal Condition of all the best and most religious, that is of all Christian Marriages; for in other Persuasions Men are left more to their Liberty, by the allowing Divorces, final Separations, and Nullities of this Obligation. Another (if the Ladies will give us Leave to say so) is the Weakness of the Sex; whose Strength of Mind is not sufficient to keep up, and hold pace in a perfect Conference, and unreserv'd Communication of a Man's whole Thoughts, and the Contemplations of a penetrating judicious Mind. So that here is quite another Turn of Soul; it wants Substance and Solidity to keep the Knot tight; and this Conjunction is like the fastening of one thing which is stubborn and inflexible, to another that is slender, and limber, and yielding; which, for want of Strength to bear up against it, buckles under, and slips away from it. A third Impediment to that entire Affection in a conjugal State, may be imputed to the great Intricacy of Business that attends it; the Children, the Relations on both sides; and a great many other Uneasinesses and Perplexities, which, though but an accidental Inconvenience, and not constant and unavoidable, as the two former are, yet is frequent and considerable enough to deserve a Remark here, and too often disturbs the Happiness and Quiet, and cools the Vigour of that

L III

Affection,

Book III. Affection, which is the Blessing and Ornament of the State.

The Third Distinction of Love concerns the Strength and Intensity, or the Weakness and Remissness of it. With regard to this Consideration it is again twofold. One common and imperfect, which indeed ought rather to be term'd Benevolence or Well-wishing, Familiarity, or particular Acquaintance : And this varies exceedingly, and may differ almost infinitely in the Degrees of it, each of which may be more or less close, and intimate, and strong than other : The other is perfect; and this is a sort of *Phœnix*, few, if any one Instance of it to be seen in the World; so far from being practis'd by Mankind, that they can scarce form a tolerable Idea of it to themselves; or reach up to the Force and Excellencies of the Thing, by all the Strength of meer Imagination.

For the clearer and more distinct understanding of this Difference, it may be of some Service to us to give a Description of each, and to confront them with one another : As for Example;

1. The Common may be conciliated, and come to its utmost Pitch in a very little while; but long Time, and great Deliberation must go to the finishing a perfect Amity. Such Persons, according to the Proverb, must eat at least a Bushel of Salt together, before they can be qualify'd to contract an entire Friendship.

2. That which is common may be contracted and carried on by an infinite variety of Accidents, which contribute to our Profit and Delight; whereupon a Wise Man prescribes these Two Rules for the attaining to it; That a Man should be entertaining

tertaining in his Discourse, and obliging and serviceable in his Actions; for if the one of these do but furnish our Pleasure, and the other promote the Interest of the Persons with-whom we converse, all that a common Friendship pretends to, is done effectually : But now, that which I call a perfect Friendship is never built upon such mean Considerations : Nothing less than the Contemplation and mutual Experience of an unfeign'd and vigorous Virtue can be Foundation strong enough for so noble a Superstructure.

3. The common Friendships may extend themselves to a great Number of Persons: But the true entire Friendship admits but of one Partner; and this to all Intents and Purposes a Second Self: So that altho' the Persons are two, yet their Hearts and Affections are one and the same. And the necessity of confining such Friendships to two only, is very evident from the Nature of the Thing. For to suppose more, destroys the Notion, and obstructs all the Offices and Operations of it. For Instance, To succour and assist a Friend in his Distress, is an indispensable Obligation; but if we put the Case of two such standing in need of our Help at the same time; and not only so, but desiring Kindnesses which are inconsistent and contrary to one another, which way shall I turn my self; or how can I discharge my Obligations, when one of these is favour'd and reliev'd to the Prejudice and Neglect of the other? Again, My Friend imparts a Secret to me; What Distraction is here? If I reveal it, this is a Breach of Trust and Friendship, which obliges me to be faithful in keeping what is thus deposited with me: But then, if I do not communi-

cate it to my other Friend, this is Unfaithfulness too; for it is another Law of true and entire Friendship, to unbosom themselves freely, and to have no Reserves from each other. Thus you see the Confusion and Perplexity, the Impracticableness and utter Impossibility indeed of more Friends than one, in the highest and most genuine Acceptation of the Word. And, no doubt, Multiplication of Parts and Division, is, generally speaking, an Enemy to Perfection, as Union is a natural and inseparable Property of it.

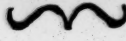
4. The Common Friendship admits of Diminution, and Encrease; it is subject to Exceptions, Limitations, different Modifications and Forms; it grows warmer and colder; and comes and goes by Fits, like an intermitting Fever; according as the Person is absent or present; as his Merits are more or less; and the Kindness he does more or less frequent and engaging; and many other Considerations there are, capable of making an Alteration in our Affections of this kind. But now, that Friendship which is perfect and entire, is much otherwise; firm and constant to it self, even and steady: Its Warmths are healthful, its Temper regular, and all its Motions vigorous and uniform.

5. The Common Friendship admits and stands in need of several Rules for its Direction; several wise Cautions contriv'd by considerate Persons for the regulating and restraining it, and preventing any future Inconveniencies, which may happen to arise from Unwariness, and an unguarded Conversation. One of these is, To love our Friend so far as may be consistent with the Preservation of our Piety, and Truth, and Virtue: For even that old Expression
of

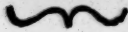
of *Amicus usque ad Aras*, implies this Restriction. Another is to love him so, as if you were sure one Day to hate him; and to hate a Man so, as if you were hereafter to love him; that is, to be prudent and reserv'd in your Passions and Affections, and not abandon one's self so entirely, or be so violent in either Extreme, that a Man should have just Occasion to repent, and condemn his former Behaviour, if at any time hereafter there should happen to be a Breach, or any Coldness grow betwixt them. A Third is, to come into our Friend's Assistance of our own accord, and without being call'd: For it puts a Friend out of Countenance to demand his Right; and he buys a Kindness dear, when forc'd to ask what he looks upon as his just Due; and that which he conceives he ought to be prevented in. Therefore these Obligations are never fully satisfy'd, except we be always ready and early in our Courtesies, and, if that be possible, before-hand with his very Wishes. A Fourth is, not to be troublesome to our Friends, by entertaining them with dismal Stories of our own Misfortunes, and being always in the complaining Strain; like Women, that make it their whole Business to move Pity, and are constantly magnifying their own Hardships and Sufferings. Now all these are very useful and reasonable Directions, fit to be observ'd in common Friendships: But in that more sublime and perfect one, there is no Occasion at all for these; this disdains all Forms, and is above the pedantick Niceties of Ceremony and Reserve.

This is what we shall attain to a more just and distinct Notion of, by giving the Reader a Draught and Description of Friendship in Perfection: Which

8.
Perfect
Friendship.
what.

BOOK III.  is no other, in short, than a free, full, and entire Mingling of Souls throughout, and in every part and point. To explain this now in Three Particulars: I say first, it must a Mingling, and (if I may so express it) an Incorporating, and not a Conjunction of Souls only: For this gives us a Resemblance of Solid Bodies, which, how strongly and artificially soever they may be tack'd together in one Part, yet do not touch in all; and not only so, but that very Ligament which joins them together, may be dissolv'd, or cut asunder, and each of these Bodies may subsist, and remain, and feel it self entire, after Separation. But now in these perfect Friendships, the Souls of Men are entirely absorpt in each other; so confounded, as never to be distinguish'd, never to be parted again; like Liquors well mix'd, which can never be drawn off from each other. And that is the perfect, the universal Communion of Minds, that entire Agreement of Judgments and Inclinations which I rather chose to express Mingling of Souls, as a Phrase that gives us a stronger Idea of this Union, than any Resemblance taken from Solids could possibly do. Secondly, it is a free, and purely the Work of Choice, a generous and spontaneous Act of the Will, without any Obligation, or distant Inducement, foreign to the Worth and Agreeableness of the Parties. For nothing is more voluntary than Love; and so much of Constraint as you put upon it, so much you weaken the Affection, and take off from the true Nature and Commendation of the Virtue. Thirdly, it is universal, and without Exception; no Reservation of any thing, nothing that can be call'd ours in bar to our Friend's Title and Pretensions.

sions. Estates, Honours, Preferments, Judgments, Thoughts, Will, all laid open and in common; nay, even Life it self is what both have equal Right in. From this so universal and entire Communication it is, that those Maxims have taken Place, of *Friendship finding or making all equal*; of *Friends having no Property*, and the like; such can no longer lend or borrow; they cannot give or receive; there is no such thing as Beneficence and Obligation, Acknowledgments or Returns, or any such Offices of Kindness or Gratitude practicable or in Force for their Condition. These indeed are the Arts and Methods by which ordinary Friendships are cherish'd and maintain'd; but at the same time that they are Testimonies of Affection, they are Marks of Distinction too. Whereas, in this Case, it is as with one's own self; and as a Man cannot be oblig'd to himself for any Service done to his own Person, nor owe any Gratitude upon the account of that Kindness and Readiness to relieve his own Wants, which he feels in his own Breast, no more can one true Friend be indebted to another upon any the like Occasions. Nay, even Marriage, tho' it gives us the best, yet even that is but a distant and feeble Resemblance of the Divine Union we are now treating of. The Laws allow no such thing as distinct Properties and Donations betwixt Man and Wife; and therefore in Friendship there could not be any such Thing as giving and receiving: The Benefactor would be that Person who made use of his Friend's Kindness, and so put it in his Power to do what became him. For the principal Design, and eagerest Wish of each Party, being to snatch every occasion of mutual Assistance and Benefit; he who fur-

Book III.  nishes the Opportunity, and gratifies this Desire, is properly the Donor: Since it is to his Bounty that the other owes his greatest Happiness; for such is the Satisfaction of compassing his Desires, and effecting that which is incomparably more pleasant and dear to him, than all the Advantages and Enjoyments in the World besides.

9.
Examples
of Friend-
ship.

Some few Instances there are of this entire Friendship, and unreserv'd Communication of Souls in antient Story. When *Blofius* was apprehended, upon the Account of a mighty Friendship known to be between him and *Tiberius Gracchus*, who was already under Sentence of Condemnation for Seditious Practices; upon Examination what he would have done for his Sake, he reply'd, that he would have stuck at nothing to do him Service. The Judges proceeded further, and asked, Whether if *Gracchus* had desir'd him to set the Temples on Fire, he would have comply'd with so sacrilegious a Request? He answer'd again, That *Gracchus* was not capable of desiring so wicked a Proof of his Friendship; but upon supposition that he could, he should not have refused it. Now this was a very bold and dangerous Answer. The first Part of it indeed, that *Gracchus* could not entertain a Thought so impious, was no more than he might well enough venture to say, because, according to the Account we have already given of this Matter, every Friend in perfection is not only fully acquainted with the Disposition, and all the Thoughts of his Friend, which sufficiently qualifies him to be responsible for them all; but he is absolute Master of them, and so can dispose of them, as much as of his own. But that last Clause of doing so, if *Gracchus* had requir'd it,

it, was idle and impertinent; for it does not in any Degree take off from what he had affirm'd before, concerning his Assurance of *Gracchus* not entertaining any such Desire, nor making the Thing one whit better or worse. Now this Instance shews us the perfect Harmony of Souls, with regard to the concurring Judgments and Inclinations of such Friends.

The Second Instance relates to their Fortunes. To which purpose we read of three Friends (this Number of Three, I confess is a Contradiction to the Rules here proposed, and tempts us to think that this Friendship, tho' very extraordinary, had not yet attained to all the Degrees of a just Perfection) but three however there were: Two of them in very plentiful, the other in as low Circumstances, who had a poor old Mother, and a young unmarried Daughter, both lying upon his Hands. The Person upon his Death-bed makes a Will, and bequeaths to one of his Friends his poor feeble Mother to maintain; to the other his Daughter, with a Charge to see her as well match'd as possibly he could; and in case either of these happen'd to fail, the whole Care of both was to devolve upon the other. A notable Legacy! You'll say; and so the World then thought it; for every Body made themselves extremely merry with so odd a Bequest. But, while the World ridicul'd this un-usual piece of Executorship, the Heirs themselves took the Administration upon them with wonderful Satisfaction; and each was greedy to get his Legacy into his Possession. Within a very few Days after, the Legatee to whose share the Mother fell, happen'd to die too; and then the surviving Coheir, succeeding

3

ing

BOOK III.  ing into the whole Concern, took particular good Care of the Mother; and as soon as conveniently he could, enquired out proper Matches for both, marry'd his own only Daughter, and that of his deceas'd Friend, upon one and the same Day, and divided his whole Estate equally between them. Now, according to this Case thus stated, as you see, it hath been the constant Opinion of the wisest Men, that he who dy'd first, gave greater Demonstrations of his Friendship, and was a more bountiful Benefactor, than either of the Survivors; that he really bequeath'd them the most valuable Inheritance, by putting into their Hands such Occasions of doing good, and allowing them the Satisfaction of laying themselves out in his Service, as became their Character, and the Necessities of his own Family requir'd.

The third Example goes higher still, and reaches to Life itself. And here we may reflect upon that well known Story of two Friends. That a Tyrant had condemn'd one of them to die, and had appointed the Day and Hour of his Execution; but he with great Importunity obtain'd Leave to go and take care of his Affairs and Family, upon this Condition, that he should give Security, and find one to be bound Body for Body, for his surrendering himself again at the Time prefix'd; and in case he fail'd, then his Bail to undergo the same capital Punishment which had been awarded to his Principal. The Condition was readily accepted, and the Prisoner produces his Friend to be bound for him, who accordingly was imprison'd in the other's stead. The Day of Execution came, and this Bondsman prepar'd himself to die with all imaginable Chearfulness. But, as he was going about it, the condemn'd

Of Fidelity, Perfidiousness, &c. 1259

denn'd Person came in, releas'd his Security, and offer'd himself to the fatal Stroke. This strange Generosity made such Impression upon the Tyrant, that much out of Countenance, and full of Astonishment, he was conquer'd into Mercy; set them both at Liberty, and made it his Request, that these brave Men would accept of the Proffers he made of his Kindness and Affection, and do him the Honour to admit him into their Number, and reckon that they had now a third sincere and generous Friend.

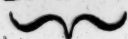
C H A P. VIII.

Mutual Faith, Fidelity, Perfidiousness, Secrecy.

ALL Mankind are highly sensible, and unanimously agreed, that mutual Faith is the common Band and Cement by which human Society is held together, the very Bottom and Ground-work of all Justice; and even those perfidious Wretches, who are the most infamous in Practice, and delight most in Falshood and Wrong, cannot but acknowledge the Excellence of this Virtue, and that it is of infinite Consequence to have it strictly and religiously observ'd. * *Nothing, says Tully, is more noble, nothing more venerable than Fidelity; for this is the Foundation of Justice; it knits Men to one another, and contributes as much as any one thing whatsoever, both to the Security of the Publick, and that of private Persons. Faithfulness and Truth are the most sacred, most reverend Excellencies and Endowments of a human Mind.*

* Nihil augustius Fide, quæ Justitiæ Fundamentum est; nec ulla res vehementius Rempublicam continet & vitam. Sanctissimum humani pectoris Bonum.

* *Eternal*



* *Eternal Truth, Sister and Twin to Jove,
 Glory of Men below, and Gods above;
 The vast expanded Globe's diffusive Soul,
 By the fix'd Law, Sun, Stars, and Seas do roll;
 Firm on thy Base, and knit in sacred Band,
 Peace, mutual Trust, and equal Justice stand:
 In Man thy native Light is shed Abroad,
 And every Breast is fill'd with a Domestick Good.*

2.
The Rarity of it. And yet, notwithstanding this general Consent in the speculative Part, Men differ extremely, and in Practice contradict themselves. For the World is full of Treachery and Falshood; and very few shall we be able to find who are really and entirely true and just in their Dealings: Nay, even those who make a Conscience of being so, yet are frequently guilty of Breach of Faith, such as not only the World does not easily discover, but such as they themselves who commit it, are not sensible of: For if they can but fix upon any colourable Pretence to varnish over such an Action, and give it a tolerable good Face, they presently persuade themselves, that all is well, and they have done nothing amiss. Others there are eternally upon the hunt for Niceties and subtle Evasions, by which to justify there Proceedings; and here they retreat and shelter themselves: If the World take upon them to censure their Doings, or their own Conscience be either scrupulous before, or clamorous afterward, they cast up an Intrenchment of Distinctions round about them; and under this Covert go on, without boggling, or being asham'd of any thing. Now, in order to the

* *Ante Jovem generata, Decus Divûmque Hominumque;
 Quâ sine non Tellus pacem, non æquora nôrunt;
 Justitiæ Consors, tacitumque in pectore Numen.*

clearing

Of Fidelity, Perfidiousness, &c. 1261

clearing all the Difficulties that may arise upon this Occasion, I shall endeavour to set this whole Matter in its true Light, and direct Men how to behave themselves. And the whole, I think, of what needs to be said, may conveniently enough be reduc'd to four Considerations: The Person that engages his Faith, the Party to whom that Engagement is made, the Subject-matter, or the Thing covenanted for, and the Manner or Form of entring into that Engagement.

First, As to the Person engaging his Faith; it is one necessary Qualification to the rendring that Promise valid and legal, that he have Power to promise, and to make it good: If he be under the Direction, and at the Disposal of another, he is in no Condition to engage at all; nor is there any Force in such a Covenant, till it be ratified and confirmed by the Person, under whose Authority the Promiser is. Thus God himself hath determined and stated the Matter at large, under the Levitical Law; Num. Ch. where the Vows of Wives, and Children, and others in a State of Pupillage and Subjection, are declared of none Effect, till known and approved by their Husbands, or Parents, or Guardians. And the Reason of this is plain, because Nature and Duty have vested those Persons with an original and antecedent Right in those under their Care, which no After-act of such without their Consent, can convey away, or disannul: They have nothing to give, and therefore they promise what is none of their own. Thus in the *Roman* Story, the Tribune *Saturninus*, and his Accomplices, are esteem'd to have been justly put to Death, notwithstanding they quitted the Capitol (which they had rebelliously invaded, and possess'd

CHAP. VIII.

BOOK III.

possess'd themselves of) upon the Consuls Word of Honour; for these very Consuls were Subjects to the Common-wealth, and Ministers of publick Justice only; and therefore they had no Right to promise Indemnity for Crimes against the State and People of *Rome* in general. But, when a Man is entirely at his own Disposall, and covenants for such Things as he hath an indisputable Right to make good, he is obliged to keep his Word punctually, let him be otherwise never so great, never so absolute; the rather indeed upon these Considerations, because the more absolute he is, the more free he is to promise, and the better able to perform. And therefore that common Maxim is a very just and true one, *that the bare Word of a Prince, ought to be as sacred and obligatory as the solemnest Oath of a private Man.*

4

As to the Person to whom the Engagement is made, this is a Consideration which makes but little Difference in the Case; for let him be who or what he will, it ought to be discharged. There are but two Exceptions which are sufficient to dissolve this Obligation, according to the Judgment of those who have discuss'd this Point: The one is, if he did not accept of this Engagement, so as to rest satisfied in, or place his Dependance upon it, but required some other Security, and rested his Faith upon that: For, as the giving of Faith ought to be look'd upon as sacred, so should the receiving it be so too; and Distrust in the one Party is no less a Disparagement to it, than Fallacy and Trick in the other: If it be not relied upon for the sake of its own binding Force, the Confidence is lost and broke; and it ceases to be mutual Faith any longer. The
demanding

Of Fidelity, Perfidiousness, &c. 1263

demanding of Hostages, and keeping Men under ^{CHAP. VIII.} Guard, and so entring into Caution, and requiring Pledges of any Sort, is not trusting to Mens Truth, but to their Security; and it is ridiculous and senseless, to call this trusting to Mens Honesty. He that is confined, either by a Keeper, or a Prison, hath been false to no Engagement, if he make his Escape; nor can he be said to have deceived those, who never repos'd any Confidence in him. Had such an one been left at large upon his Parole, or had he prevail'd with others to stand bound for his Appearance, Honour and Conscience would have obliged him to suffer any Inconvenience rather than falsify his Word, or give up his Bail, or any manner of way disappoint the Expectations, and betray the Trust of those who depend upon him. And therefore the Reason of that *Roman* seems to carry a great deal of Force, ** Every Man is desirous to find Credit; and a Promise is then binding indeed, when an entire Dependance is repos'd in it: For Faith is mutual; it implies and requires Trust and Belief in the Person to whom it is given: These two are Relatives, and, as such, stand and fall together.*

The other Exception is, if the Promise were conditional, and mutual, and the Person to whom it was made, broke Articles first. For in this Case (say some old Authors) Men are to be paid in their own Coin, and *† he that breaks his Word, gives those he deals with a Privilege of doing so too; according to that Declaration of the Roman Senator, When you*

** Vult sibi quisq; credi, & habita Fides ipsam sibi obligat Fidem. Fides requirit Fiduciam, & relativa sunt.*

† Frangenti fidem fides frangatur eidem.— Quando Tu me non habes pro Senatore, nec ego Te pro Consule.

BOOK III. *cease to treat me as a Member of the Senate, I shall think myself dispensed with from paying you the Respect due to a Consul.* The false and perfidious Man hath forfeited all his Natural Right to Truth and Fair-dealing; for the Obligations of this kind, so far as they are founded in Nature, are reciprocal and universal; and therefore, whatever such an one can challenge, must be from some supervening Title. But whatever is indented by positive Agreement afterwards, cancels all the Advantage that might otherwise have been taken of his former Unfaithfulness, and makes it unreasonable to revenge and retaliate it. These two Cases are generally look'd upon as Reservations from the general Rule of being punctual to one's Word; and we shall do well to give even these a careful Consideration; for perhaps there are some Junctures and Occasions, in which they may not be able to bear us out; or at best, if it be our Privilege to regulate ourselves by them, it is not our Duty to do so; and a Man may sometimes see good Cause rather to submit to an Inconvenience, and forego the Use of his Liberty, than to stretch it to the utmost Point, and do all that in point of Rigour he might well enough justify himself in. But however, allowing the most that can be made of the Matter, where the Promise does not fall within the compass of these two Cases, no Consideration relating to the Party for whose Assurance it was made, can excuse us from looking upon it as sacred and indispenfible.

Ch. 16.

1. For first, a Man is obliged to keep his Word with his Subjects, as will be proved and enforc'd more at large in the following Part of this Treatise; and no Authority, though never so arbitrary and full,

full, can set him above the Obligations of Conscience in this particular. CHAP. VIII.

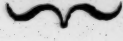
2. So is he likewise towards his Enemy; witness that so much celebrated Act of *Regulus*, the Edict of the *Roman* Senate, against all those to whom *Pyrrhus* had given leave to go to *Rome* upon their Promise of returning: Witness again *Camillus*, who would not so much as reap the Advantage of another's Treachery, though he was to have had no part in the Fact itself, but sent the Children and their villanous School-master back to the *Falisci*.

3. Nor have considering Persons thought themselves at Liberty to be unfaithful even to Robbers, and notorious Malefactors; for *Pompey* was punctual with the Pirates and *Banditi*, and *Augustus* was so to *Crocotas*.

4. As little privilege to be false, does any Difference in Religion give one; as is sufficiently evident from the Instance of *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*. The safer and more honourable Way therefore, is never to treat, or enter into any manner of Terms with those whom we think unworthy of common Honesty from us; to disdain any Capitulation, and contracting any sort of Alliance with Wretches we pretend such Detestation to, is much more agreeable to the Pretensions Men make to Zeal and Religion. And to Persons possess'd with so great an Abhorrence to Hereticks and Apostates, much may be said for this. Perhaps indeed, no other Reason but extream Necessity, and the hope of reducing them; or the Prospect of some very great and publick Good, by amicable Accommodations, should be sufficient to induce them to plight their Faith to them; but if they condescend thus far, no question they are bound to stand by their own Act and Deed; for

M m m m

sure

Book III.  sure they that are good enough to be treated with, are fit to have the Terms of the Treaty made good to them.

5. *The Matter of the Promise.* As to our third Consideration, which respects the Matter of the Promise; if that be unlawful or impossible to be performed by us, we are absolutely discharged from the Obligation; and in all Cases of Injustice, the best thing we can do, is to disclaim and get quit of it; for the Performance would but aggravate our Crime, and make our Guilt double, by the obstinate persisting in it. All other Excuses, such as Loss, or Displeasure, Difficulty, Inconvenience, the Trouble, or the Expence of their Undertaking, are too weak to pass muster. And of this, the old *Romans* have left us many brave Examples, who very frequently *used to forego very considerable Advantages, rather than be guilty of any thing, that might bring Truth and Fidelity into question.

6. *The Manner of promising.* The last Particular relates to the Manner or Formalities made use of in the Act of engaging; for, as all the Ways of binding our Consciences are not equally solemn, so neither are all equally obligatory; and therefore several Doubts and Controversies have been started upon this Point. Several Persons are of Opinion, that a Promise extorted by Force, and Fear, or obtain'd fraudulently and by Suprise, does leave no Tie upon the Conscience: Because in both these Cases, the Will hath not its free Course; nor can the Judgment act with that impartiality and clearness, which is necessary to the making its just Determination: Others again tell you quite otherwise; that the Will is not capable of being constrain'd; and though the Choice be not absolutely voluntary

* Quibus tantâ utilitate Fides antiquior fuit.

and

Of Fidelity, Perfidiousness, &c. 1267

and free, yet there is Choice enough left to induce CHAP. VIII.
an Obligation. Accordingly we find, that *Joshua*
was far from thinking himself at Liberty; nay, that
he was commanded to fulfil the Covenant made with
the *Gibeonites*, though perfectly trick'd into it by
Suprize, and a false Representation of their Case.
The most I think that can be said (if thus much
may be said) in Favour of the former Opinion is,
that the bare Promise may be dispensed with in such
Circumstances; but if that Engagement were con-
firm'd by the Solemnity of an Oath, a Man must
look upon himself to be bound by it; bound, though
not in respect of strict Equity, and the Merits of the
Cause, yet in respect to the Name of the Just and
Holy God, who was invoked as a Witness and
a Judge upon that Occasion. But that a Man in
such Cases may be very well allowed to seek any
Redress or Reparation, which the Laws will give
him, and which he hath not positively tied up his
own Hands from requiring, for such Violence or
Deceit. And this Resolution too seems to have some
Countenance given to it, by the Method *Joshua*
took, who, when the Fraud was discovered, did not
treat those *Gibeonites* as common Friends and Allies,
but made them *bewers of wood, and drawers of wa-*
ter; and though he spared their Lives, revenged
their Falshood, and crafty Dissimulation, by keep-
ing them under, and employing them in servile and
laborious Offices. That the Formality of an Oath,
and interesting Almighty God in our Promises, adds
to the Engagement, and makes it more forcible and
binding, no Doubt can be made; for Breach of
Faith, is then a double Offence, and aggravates
that Unfaithfulness which is bad in itself, with the
Addition of wilful Perjury, which is much worse.

CHAP. VIII. But to think to tie Men up by new and fantastick Oaths, as some do, is altogether useles and unnecessary; and so is the multiplying of common Oaths without some urgent and very important Occasion. For it is certain, that honest Men need not be thus dealt with; and those that are not so, will be bound by nothing we can devise. The best and most commendable Course, is to Swear by the Name of the one true everlasting God; and to do this with a becoming Reverence, and serious Deliberation; as considering, that he is a severe Avenger of those who take his Name in vain; that they must give Account for all breach of Faith, and Trust; but especially, that he will be very rigorous with those, who by a most monstrous Hardiness, and detestable Impiety, take Advantage of the Solemnity of an Oath; and turn the use of his Name into an Opportunity of deceiving the more effectually.

7. For in Truth, if we consider the Matter nicely, it will appear, that Perfidiousness and Perjury are more execrable Villanies, and higher Affronts to Almighty God, than even bold and avowed Atheism itself. The Atheist, who disbelieves a God, acts more consistently with his own Principles, and dishonours him less, in thinking there is no such being at all, than he who is persuaded, and acknowledges that there is a God, and yet in despite of his own Sense, and in defiance of the divine Justice, mocks him, by calling upon him to attest a Lye, and will not stand by what he hath appealed to that all-seeing Judge for the Confirmation of. Now he that swears with an Intention to deceive, does plainly mock God; and shews that he is afraid of Man only, but under no Concern for what God can do in Vindication of his injured Honour.

And

Of Fidelity, Perfidiousness, &c. 1269

And sure to be mistaken in one's Notions concerning CHAP. VIII.
God, is much more pardonable, than to be rightly
informed, and fully convinced, and yet to trample
all those Convictions under Foot, and put a studied
Affront upon the Deity we confess, and pretend to
adore. The Horror and Absurdity of Falshood and
Perjury, cannot be more fully and significantly ex-
press'd, than by that Character given of it, by one
of the Antients, who calls this, the giving a pu-
blick Testimony of our despising God, and stand-
ing in awe of Men. And what can be more mon-
strous, than to shew one's self a Coward with re-
gard to poor Mortals, of the same Frailties and In-
firmities with our selves, and Hectors with regard
to the irresistible Vengeance and Power of an om-
nipotent God? But, besides the horrible Impiety
and Irreligion of such Proceeding, the false and
treacherous Man is a Traitor and mortal declared E-
nemy to all Laws, and the very being of human So-
ciety: For mutual Confidence is the very Link that
holds all these together; and if once that Knot be
untwisted or broken asunder, the whole Chain falls
to Pieces immediately, Words are then but Air
and empty Noise; and yet by these it is, that all
Commerce can only be maintained; so that when
Credit can no longer be given with safety to what
People say, all Business is at an end, and no new
Method can be found to hold them in.

One Branch of this Fidelity remains yet unmen-
tion'd; which is that of keeping the Secrets im-
parted to, and entrusted with us. And this is more
troublesome than People commonly imagine; espe-
cially, when they are such as great Men have either
committed to us, or are concerned in. Were the
Difficulties that attend this Duty rightly considered,

8.
*Keeping of
Secrets.*

M m m m 3

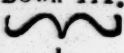
it

CHAP. VIII. it would give a mighty Check to curious and inquisitive Tempers. For sure, that Man acts most prudently, who declines this Trust as much, and knows as little of this kind, as possibly he can: For he that thrusts himself under these Obligations, entangles himself in more Snares, and Uneasinesses, than he is aware of. For, besides the constant Guard he must keep upon his Tongue, that none of these things make their escape, he falls under a Necessity many times of lying or disowning what he knows, in a manner irreconcilable with Sincerity and a good Conscience; or at least of evading it by such mean and little Shifts, as are very grating to a Man of Generosity and a great Soul. This therefore of avoiding such troublesome and dangerous Knowledge, is the first and best Advice. But if there be no Remedy, and the Men will unlock their Breasts to us, notwithstanding all the Pains we are at to be excused, the next Rule is, to be faithful and exact in the safe Custody of all committed to us under the Seal of Secrecy; and to this Purpose to practise a prudent Reserve in all our Conversation; which is an Art, that every Man cannot be Master of; for it requires something of a Disposition in Nature, as well as Art and Industry afterwards, and the Sense of that Obligation we are under in these Cases; Attendency to Silence, as well as a Custom of it: For the open and gay Tempers are always in Danger; and they who affect to talk much in all Companies, will be sure very often to say a great many things, which ought to have been suppress'd.

Of Freedom in Advice and Reproof. 1271

C H A P. IX.

Truth, and Freedom in Advising and Reproving.

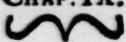
BY Truth here, I mean the venturing to bold BOOK III.
and unacceptable things; for free and cordial 
Advice, and Reproof is a most wholesome and ad- Its Excel-
mirable Medicine: It is one of the most noble and lence.
useful Offices of Friendship; the best Argument,
that a Man's Affection is sincere, when he is con-
tent to run the Hazard of giving some little Unea-
siness, in Prospect of doing a great deal of Good:
For it is profiting, and not pleasing, that every
Friend should aim at; and one of the most impor-
tant, as well as most express Commands, which the
Gospel hath left upon us with regard to Conversation,
is this; *If thy Brother offend against thee, admonish him.*

There is no Man so perfect, so circumspect in all 2.
his Behaviour, as not sometimes to stand in need of The Usefulness.
having this Physick apply'd to him. But those,
who are prosperous and great in the World, seem
to require it more than others; for there is some-
what in that Condition, which by naturally dispo-
sing Men to a loose Gaiety, and unthinking Heed-
lessness, makes it exceeding difficult and rare, to be
very fortunate and very wise at the same time: But
especially Princes, who are always in view, and cu-
riously watch'd; who sustain a publick Character,
and have an infinite deal of Business constantly up-
on their Hands, who are fain to take things upon
Trust, from the Observation and Report of other
People, and who are used to have by much the great-
est Part of what is true, and highly concerns them
to know, concealed from them; these Persons a-
bove all others have very great need to be freely
dealt with, and set right in their Proceedings: And
M m m m 4 they

BOOK III. they who are not so by the Persons about them, either run a desperate Hazard for want of it, or else are wise and penetrating, much above the rate of common Men, if they do well without it.

3. And yet this Office, as necessary and useful as it *The Rarity and Difficulty of it.* is, is discharged faithfully by very few. For indeed few are capable of discharging it; there being three Qualifications requisite to capacitate Men for it. These are, Judgment or Discretion; Freedom or Courage to speak what one thinks; and Affection or Fidelity. All these make the Composition perfect; and all must concur, to give a Relish and due Temper to each other. But if Men had all these Accomplishments, yet it is not to be question'd, whether they would put them in practice. So that the Difficulty is double: For very few undertake this ungrateful Office for fear of displeasing; and of those who have Sincerity enough to attempt, few have Skill enough to perform it as it should be. Now this is an extream nice Undertaking, and if ill done, like a Medicine improperly given, though never so sovereign in its own Nature, it puts the Patient to a World of Uneasiness, and is sure to do more hurt than good. The Effect of it is only to harden him the more; and thus Reproof hath the same Operation that Flattery would have, only with this Difference, that the one gives Pain and Resentment, and the other Pleasure and Self-satisfaction. For, as excellent and noble as Truth is, yet hath it not the Privilege of being always seasonable and becoming; but requires a great many favourable Circumstances to soften and recommend it. For, let a Man's Intention and Meaning be never so holy, and the Substance of his Advice never so excellent, yet there may be Faults in the applying of

Of Freedom in Advice and Reproof. 1273

of it ; and such, that it were as well, and perhaps CHAP. IX.
much better let alone. 

Now, that we may know how to govern our
selves in so very ticklish a Point, I shall take the ^{4.} *Rules for it.*
Liberty to offer these following Directions: Which
yet are to be look'd upon, as calculated for such Per-
sons and Circumstances, where something of Dis-
tance, and Ceremony, and a Fear of being offen-
sive, may be expected. For, in case there be any
intimate Familiarity, or particular Confidence, any
Power and Authority in the Person reproving, that
may set them above such Formalities, then all ne-
cessity of observing these following Rules, is quite
superseded: But they who cannot pretend to the
Privilege of an open and unrestrain'd Freedom, will
do well

1. To have a due Regard to Time and Place; for
a great deal depends upon the Nicking of these
two. For Instance, It should not be done at a
publick Entertainment, nor amongst Persons met
together for Mirth and Diversion; for this is to be
very impertinent, and to spoil good Company:
Nor is it seasonable, when we see the Party in some
more than ordinary Trouble, Melancholy, and out
of Humour, or some sore Affliction. This looks
like an Act of Hostility, and barbarous Insulting;
as if we took the Advantage of his Misfortunes, or
Dejection of Mind, and only waited for an Op-
portunity to grieve, and teaze, and quite oppress
him; when his Condition calls rather for our Com-
fort, and Encouragement, and Assistance. It is an
Act of great Cruelty to chide Men in Distress; and
Perseus King of *Macedon* was so incens'd at this ill
Treatment, that he killed two of his particular
Friends, for presuming to make this Addition to his
Calamity.

2. It

BOOK III.

2. It must not be done for all Faults indifferently; not for such as are inconsiderable, and of no very ill Consequence; for this favours of Peevishness and Ill-nature, and betrays too much of Eagerness and Delight in this, at best ungrateful Office. A Man will be apt to tell himself, that such a Man is fond and glad of such Opportunities, and makes use of them more to gratifie his own Spleen, than with any design of profiting his Friend. Nor yet should it be done for very gross, notorious, and dangerous Actions; such as cannot but leave a Sting behind them, and the Enormity whereof he must needs be affected with, without our awakening his Conscience, or taking the trouble of working him up to a Sense of them. For he will be sure, upon such Occasions, to dread the Reproach and the Uneasiness of an Admonition; and will fancy that we lie upon the Catch for his Fall, and labour to put him quite out of Conceit with himself.

3. This Admonition and Reproof ought to be private, that there may be no Witnesses of his Disgrace; for it is very grievous to be publicly exposed. We are told of a Young Man, who was so overwhelm'd with Shame and Confusion at a Rebuke given him by *Pythagoras*, that he could not bear to out-live it, but immediately went and Hang'd himself. And *Plutarch* delivers it as his Opinion, that the Provocation which enrag'd *Alexander*, and transported him to the killing his old Friend *Clytus*, was not so much any Offence he took at what he said, as the Rudeness of saying what he did before Company. More particularly yet, we must be sure to forbear all Liberties of this kind, before those Persons, whose Approbation and Esteem either the Person is ambitious and tender

Of Freedom in Advice and Reproof. 1275

tender of, or the Character he bears renders necessary CHAP. IX.
to him. And therefore it is not to be done to either Husband or Wife before each other; nor to Parents before their Children; nor to a Master before his Servants; nor to a Minister or Teacher before his Parishioners or Scholars.

4. It should be deliver'd with a plain, easie, unaffected Freedom; somewhat that looks unstudied, and as it were by the bye; and, to be sure, without any regard to private Interest, or the least Appearance of Passion and Disorder.

5. This is capable of being soften'd a little, by including our own selves, and not seeming to confine the Blame to him alone, as if it were a strange or particular Thing; expressing our Sense likewise in general Terms; as thus, *We are all apt to forget our selves upon these Occasions; One would wonder what Men think of, when they do such thngs; or the like.*

6. A Man should always begin with the Commendations of something that is good or well-done in his Friend, and close all with Tenders of Service and Assistance; this sweetens and takes off very much from the Smart and Severity of the Correction, and makes the necessary bitter Pill go down more glibly: And then by comparing these things together, we may shew the Miscarriage more evidently; as thus: *Such a Thing becomes you, and you do mighty well in it; I wish I could say as much of this: Or, Good lack! what a difference there is between such an Action of your's, and such an one! Who could ever imagine that Pieces so unlike could ever be done by the same Hand!*

7. It is likewise advisable, to express the Fault in Phrases as soft and gentle as we can, and such as
3 fall

BOOK III. fall very much short of the Enormity and real Proportion of the Thing. For Instance; instead of *you have done very ill*, to say, *Sure you did not consider what you did; you were mistaken, or not well aware, or the like.* Instead of *have nothing to do with this Woman*, why should you ruin your self upon her Account? Pray never think of entertaining a Woman, who will certainly be the Ruin of you: Instead of desiring him not to bear such an one a Grudge, to beg that he would engage in no dispute, nor concern himself with him.

8. Lastly, When the Business is over, a Man must not immediately leave the Party with uneasy Impressions upon his Mind; for these will but ferment there, and gall him; and therefore it is necessary he should stay with him till all that Uneasiness be got over: In order whereunto, he must contrive to turn his Discourse upon some common entertaining Subject, which may divert the present remembrance of the Reprehension, and bring them to part very good Friends, and in perfect Humour.

CHAP. X.

Of Flattery, Lying, and Dissimulation.

1.
Flattery.

FLattery is a most dangerous Poison to all private Persons, that drink and suck it in. But as for Princes, it is almost the only, the universal Cause of their Ruin, and infinitely fruitful in Mischiefs to their Subjects and Government in general, by betraying them to, and supporting them in their Tyranny and Male-Administration. It is a Thousand times worse than False-witness: That deceives and misleads the Judge, it draws a Sentence from him, wicked and unreasonable in it self; but not so with regard

regard to him; for his Will and Judgment are blameless: They proceed according as Matters appear in Evidence; and so the Man preserves his Integrity still: But here the very Mind and Judgment is debauch'd; the Soul is charm'd and bewitch'd, made incapable of improving in the Knowledge of the Truth, and utterly averse from the Love of it. It is a rank and spreading Evil; for if once a Prince be corrupted by Flattery, and fond of it, there is a Necessity that all about him, who desire to be well in his Opinion, and hope to make their Fortunes by his Favour, should turn Flatterers: For Interest and Ambition will not fail to make Converts enough; and the Rule these govern themselves by, is to study and practise what they see agreeable, and likely to recommend them most to the good Graces of their Patron. Whatever can be said to shew the Excellence of Truth, is all that proves the Baseness and Deformity of Flattery: They who esteem and adore the one, must in Proportion despise and detest the other; which indeed is nothing else but the Corruption and Perverting of the Truth. It is a pitiful mean Vice, the Submission of a poor degenerate Spirit; an Effeminacy and Weakness as unbecoming a Man, as Garishness and affected Confidence is to a Woman.

CHAP. X.

** Not Friends and faithless Flatterers differ more
Than a chaste Woman, and a common Whore.*

Upon this Account, Flatterers are compar'd to Strumpets, to Sorcerers, Poisoners, publick Cheats, Debauchers of Mankind; nay, to Wolves, and Foxes; and a wise Author declares it better to fall

** Ut Matrona Meritrici dispar erit, atque*

Discolor, infido Scurræ distabit Amicus. Horat. Lib. xviii.

among

Book. III. among Birds of Prey; and be Crow's Meat, than
 ~~~~~ come into the Hands of Flatterers.

2. There are two sorts of Persons, who lie open to Flattery; and as they never want fawning People, who are always ready to offer them this Trash; so they for the most part, as greedily swallow it. These are Princes, with whom these Hucksters get into Credit, and grow acceptable by this means; and the Ladies, who are so marvellously delighted with hearing well of themselves, that the most usual and successful Stratagem for corrupting their Virtue, is generally thought to be the entertaining them with their own Commendations.

3. It is really very hard to avoid the Danger of Flattery, and so to arm and strengthen our Minds, that they shall be proof against all its Insinuations. 'Tis particularly so to Women, by reason of their natural Disposition, which by a Weakness almost universal to the Sex, inclines them to be fond of Vanity, and greedy of Praise. And it must needs be so to Princes; by reason their Relations, and Friends, and prime Ministers, such as they must of necessity hold constant Conversation with, are all bred up to this Trade, and value themselves upon being expert and dextrous at it. *Alexander*, who was so great a Monarch, with all the Philosophy of his Tutor *Aristotle* to arm him, could not stand against it. And, tho' we commonly pretend to lessen and condemn Kings for suffering themselves to be thus imposed upon, yet there is never a one of us all, but, if we were in their Circumstances, and perpetually laid at by Parasites and Sycophants, as they are, we should be a thousand times worse than they. No Man of an ordinary Condition can be a competent Judge in this case, because he cannot have any thing like the

Trials

Trials and Temptations of an elevated Post. But, CHAP. X.  
tho' Flattery, like Diseases, do not seize all Persons and Constitutions alike, yet contagious it is, and no Man lives utterly out of the reach of its venomous Infection. There is somewhat so agreeable, that even they who hate and seem most to reject it, conceive a secret Pleasure, and shut the Door against it so faintly, that after many pretended Denials, it is let in, and kindly entertain'd in private. That which adds to the Danger is, that Men are tainted by it insensibly; for it is so cunningly varnish'd over, so disguis'd with a Mask of Friendship, which it affects always to wear, that one cannot very easily distinguish between them. It usurps and invades all her good Offices, puts on her Air and Countenance, calls it self by her Name, counterfeits her Voice; in short, observes the Tone, the Mein, the Readiness, the Zeal, so that you would swear it could be none but she. The business of Flattery is to please, and be taking; it pays marvellous Respects and Deference, is very liberal in Praises, exceeding officious and eager to serve the Person apply'd to, and careful to be always in good Humour, or indeed in any Humour that prevails, and will be most agreeable at that time. Nay, to shew how exquisite the Hypocrisy of this Vice is, it goes a great deal farther, and ventures upon the last and highest, the severest and most dangerous Act of Friendship, and is free and full in its Expostulations and Reproofs. In one Word, the Flatterer's Care is always to profess and make himself believ'd much more sincere and passionate in his Affection and Concern for the Person whom he addresses to, than he is or can be to him in return. But all these boasting and pompous Pretensions, notwithstanding there

is

BOOK III. is not in the World any thing more destructive of true Friendship: Ill Language, Affronts, open and avowed Enmity, are not in reality greater Contradictions, how different soever they are in Figure and outward Shew: It is the very Bane of all Sincerity and true Love; they are irreconcilable, and cannot dwell together. \* When once I am your Friend, I cease to flatter; and when I begin to flatter, from that very Instant you may conclude me none of your Friend: And therefore that Observation is most true, † That the Wounds and Strokes of a Friend are better and more desirable than the Kisses of a Flatterer. Those, tho' we feel some Pain in them, are yet well intended, and may contribute to our Benefit and Amendment. These are soft and smooth, but full of Treachery and Mischief; and the End of all those kind Caresses, is to keep us unacquainted with our selves, and so to lead us hoodwink'd into Ruin.

4. Since therefore it so highly concerns us not to be mistaken upon this Occasion, and since the knowing these two so very contrary Qualities asunder, is no such obvious and easy Matter, I shall endeavour to draw off the Vizard, and draw, if not the whole Face, yet so many of the Features and principal Lines of it, as that by these Strokes my Reader may be able to distinguish Flattery and Friendship from each other.

1. Flattery is always follow'd close at the Heels by private Interest and Advantage: This is the Scent it follows, and you may know it by the manner of Hunting, and the Game it pursues: But a Friend is generous and undesigning; hath no By-

\* Non potes me simul Amico & Adulatore uti.

† Meliora vulnera diligentis, quàm oscula blandientis.



ends, nor is Self at the bottom of what he does continually.

CHAP. X.

2. A Flatterer is perpetually veering and changeable in his Judgment and Opinion of Things; like a Looking-glass, that readily reflects all Faces, or Wax prepar'd to receive any manner of Impressions. He is a Camelion, a Polypus, never of one Colour and Complexion, longer than you determine and encourage him to it. If you appear to commend and love a Man, he admires and exalts him to the Skies; pretend Dislike, or Resentment, or Aversion, he tacks about streight, and is in with you there too; he censures, condemns, aggravates, as he finds you stand affected: For you are the Principal, the Substance, the Original, and he your Image, your Representation, the Shadow, the Copy, the constant Attendant and Mimick of all you are, and say, and do; affecting every Motion, and putting on every Shape, as he sees his Pattern alter: Whereas a Friend is firm, and uniform, and consistent with himself; for Truth and Reason are the Compass he steers by, and these are fix'd and unchangeable.

3. Another Mark to distinguish him by, is his Carriage; which is always eager, and officious to a great Excess; and especially in such things as he is sensible will be observ'd, or otherwise like to come to the Knowledge of the Person he addresses to; and, as in all other respects, so is he particularly forward in his Commendations, in proffering his Service, and doing every little thing that may look like Deference and Zeal. In all his Behaviour, there is nothing of Steadiness or Moderation; and yet, as fair a Shew as all this makes outwardly to the World, there is not any solid Bottom, not one Grain of cordial Affection within. Now a Friend is the very

N n n n

Reverse

BOOK III. Reverse of all this; an Enemy to Ostentation and large Pretences; and content that the Sincerity of his Kindness should prove it self by solid and substantial Testimonies: Not at all the less disposed to act as becomes his Character, tho' he were sure that he should never be taken notice of, or thank'd for it: And therefore the Integrity of his Heart and Intentions, often puts him upon studying secret ways of obliging; and, provided his own Duty be done, and his Conscience satisfy'd, he can very well abate the publishing his Endeavours to serve his Friend.

4. The Flatterer constantly yields the Prize to his Patron, declares him in the right in all he says, applauds his Prudence in all he does, and this without any other Design, but only to please, and render himself agreeable. Hence it is, that he overshoots the Mark so much, commending all without Distinction, and all extravagantly and in Excess. Nay, sometimes he will not grudge to do it at his own Expence, and to lessen his own Desert, that he may magnify his Patron's. Like Wrestlers, that stoop and bend, only to shew the Cunning of their Play, and mend their Hold, that so they may gain the Advantage of throwing the Adversary a fairer Fall. Now a Friend goes to work plainly and bluntly; Preference and Esteem are of small Consideration with him; nor is his Design so much to please and minister Delight, as to bring substantial Profit, and to do much Good; and what way this is done, is of little concern to him; he is not nice and scrupulous in the Choice of Methods; but, like a good Physician, considers the Case and the Necessities of his Patient; and prepares his sharp and painful, or his gentler Remedies, not according as they suit the Palate, but the Exigencies of his Friend. Recover-

ry and Amendment is his End and Business, and all things else are indifferent to him, except so far as they may prove subservient to this great Design. CHAP. X.

5. Sometimes he will needs take upon him to rebuke his Friend, but he does it so very awkwardly, that a Man may easily discern this to be only a Copy of his Countenance; and that at the same time he puts on the Hardiness of a Friend, his chief Care is not to incur Displeasure by handling Matters too roughly. To this purpose he will be sure to fix upon light and trivial Faults only, or some very excusable Defect, pretending himself blind all the while to those that are grosser, and much more obnoxious to Censure and Reproach. He will express himself with great Severity and Bitterness against Relations, or Acquaintance, or Servants, as if they were wanting in the Diligence and Respects due from them: Or else he will introduce the Liberty he takes with a Pretence of some idle Stories he hath heard, and profess Solicitude to be inform'd of the Truth from his own Mouth, that so he may be capable of doing him Service in a just Vindication of his Innocence. And when his Patron either denies the Fact, or excuses himself, he will not fail to catch at this Opportunity of expatiating in his Praise, “ I confess, *Sir, says he*, this was a wonderful Surprize to me, and what I could not prevail with my self to give Credit to. I was satisfied I knew you better; for how is it possible you should be guilty of any such thing? I told your Enemies, who taxed you with Injustice, that they must pardon me, if I was peremptory to the Contrary: For who could imagine that you should invade another’s Right, who are so far from insisting rigorously upon your own? One, who to

N n n n 2

“ my



BOOK III. “ my Knowledge is so Generous, so Bountiful, so  
 “ Charitable, could never, you may be sure, pass up-  
 “ on me for a griping or covetous Man. Such  
 “ Jealousies, I say, might find Entertainment with  
 “ Strangers, but with me, who have the Honour  
 “ to be so well acquainted with your Virtues, they  
 “ would all go for nothing.” Or else he takes Oc-  
 casion to chide him kindly, for having no more Care  
 of himself, and exposing that Person so much, which  
 is of such infinite Importance to the Publick; as one  
 of the Senators particularly is said to have curried  
 Favour with *Tiberius*, in a full Senate, after a very  
 nauseous and fulsome manner of Complementing.

6. In a Word; I shall need to add but this one  
 Mark of Distinction more. A true Friend always  
 regards, and advises, and promotes that which is  
 agreeable to Reason, and Duty: He consults the  
 Character and Circumstances of the Person, and ob-  
 serves what is fittest and most becoming; but the  
 Flatterer spies out a blind Side, and strikes in with  
 Pleasure, and Interest, and Inclination. So that no  
 Man is so proper an Instrument for corrupting Mens  
 Principles, and soothing them in all manner of Ex-  
 travagance and Vice: None so improper for the put-  
 ting forward any thing of Virtue, or Difficulty, or  
 Danger. Indeed he is like an Ape, that serves to  
 none of those necessary Uses which other Creatures  
 are assisting to us in; but seems cut out merely for  
 the Jest and Diversion of Mankind.

5. To this Vice of Flattery, that of Lying is very  
*Lying.* near of Kin, and usually goes along with it: And  
 this is likewise of the same infamous Quality; a  
 mean, and dishonourable, and rascally Vice: For  
 what can be more despicable and base, than for a  
 Man to speak contrary to his own Knowledge and

Sense

Sense of Things? The first and boldest Step to-  
wards the Corruption of Manners, is the banishing  
them out of our Discourse; as on the contrary, the  
Courage and Resolution to be true, is, according to  
*Pindar's* Account of it, the Beginning and Founda-  
tion of a brave and eminent Virtue. But, besides  
the Despicableness of this Vice in it self, it is like-  
wise highly destructive to humane Society. For  
we cease to be Men, and are loose from all the mu-  
tual Ties and Securities possible to be had upon  
one another, when mutual Confidence, and Truth,  
the only Ground of it, is lost. Speech indeed, is  
rightly said to capacitate Mankind for Society; but  
if once that be abused to Falshood and Deceit, Si-  
lence is a thousand times the more sociable Quality  
of the two. If a Lye indeed were constant to it  
self, and wore but one Face, as Truth does, then  
there would be some Hopes at least, and the Mis-  
chief were more tolerable; for we might depend  
upon it, that the direct Contrary of what the Liar  
says is true. But alas! it is our Misfortune, that the  
Reverse of Truth hath a hundred thousand several  
Shapes, and the Space it ranges in is infinite. Good  
(that is, Virtue and Truth) is certain and circum-  
scribed, staked down to one single Spot, and fixed  
beyond the Power of Variation, as there can be but  
one way to hit the Mark. But Evil (that is, Vice  
and Error) is infinite and uncertain, and there are  
a thousand Ways to shoot besides the Mark: For  
short or beyond, too high or too low, on this or on  
that Side, all are wide of the Matter. Without all  
Doubt, could Mankind be made duly sensible of  
the Horror, and mischievous Consequences of Ly-  
ing, they would be so far from practising or giving  
the least Countenance to such Wickedness, that they

BOOK III. would set themselves to drive it out of the World with Fire and Sword; and think no Punishments too severe, no Methods too cruel for the utter Extermination of it. And this is a good Hint to those who make the Education of Youth their Care, with what Vigilance the very first Tendencies to this Evil ought to be observed, and the Growth of it prevented and opposed. This should be their first Business, and the Checking of a positive and obstinate Humour their next; and both these should be taken down betimes; for otherwise the Corruption of Nature will be beforehand with us; and it is scarce to be conceived indeed, how very early such rank Weeds spring, and how prodigiously they shoot, if not nipt in the Bud.

6. *Hypocrisy.* But Men may be guilty of Lying in their Actions, as well as in their Discourse; for what else is all that Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, so generally practised in the World? This, I confess, is represented as an Accomplishment, and hath obtain'd the Character and Reputation of Complaisance and good Breeding. But yet, let the Men of refined Manners say what they will, it is in reality a Blemish and Dishonour, a mean Submission, and base Degeneracy of Soul, for a Man to appear abroad always in Disguise; to walk with a Mask, and not dare to shew his Face to the World. Let Men talk of Honour as long as they will, Honour can never be consistent with Dissimulation; and he that is an Hypocrite is certainly the greatest Coward, the most abject Slave.

7. Now, whoever he be, that sets up his Trade, he will find enough to do to maintain his Credit, or his Ease by it: For a Hypocrite is under perpetual Constraint. And what a Torment must it needs be, for  
a Man

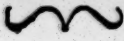


a Man always to appear different from what he is re-  
ally, and in his own Nature? What a constant Eye  
must he have upon every Word and Action? What  
Jealousies of all he converses with? What anxious  
Fears of being discover'd and expos'd? The Diffi-  
culty and Disquiet of concealing one's Temper, is a  
perfect Hell upon Earth; and the being found out  
is an intolerable Confusion and Reproach. If there  
be such a thing as perfect Ease and Pleasure attain-  
able here below, it is certainly to be found only in  
a freedom and openness, and security of Mind and  
Conversation. And a Man had better let the World  
see the Worst of him, tho' he happen to be some-  
thing less in their Esteem for his plain downright  
Behaviour, than be always straining to counterfeit  
some good Qualities which he hath not, or to keep  
some ill one's out of Sight. So amiable, so noble  
is this Frankness of Temper, that even Reputation  
it self, as valuable as it is, cannot make sufficient Re-  
paration for the parting with it.

CHAP. X.

8.

But, besides that this is a difficult and laborious  
Trade, it is a poor and paltry one; for most Men  
break of it in a very little while. Dissimulation can-  
not go very far; it will be discovered at one time or  
other, and leave those that depend upon it, in the  
Lurch. It is a common Observation, and daily Ex-  
perience proves it to be as true as it is common, that  
nothing which is either violent or counterfeit con-  
tinues long. Herein, Art and Force differ from Na-  
ture, that they decay by Time, and this improves  
by it. And when once such Men are detected, all  
they get by it is, never to be trusted afterwards; to  
have no Strefs laid upon what they do, nor any  
Credit given to what they say. Nay, Truth it  
self suffers by this means, and can gain no Recep-

BOOK III.  tion when it comes out of their Mouths: And how despicable a Wretch is that, whose Authority is lost, and whose Example goes for nothing? whose whole Life is look'd upon as one continued Banter, and his most serious Actions are thought to smell so rank of Trick and Design, that they only serve to awaken Mens Suspicion, and warn them to be more upon their Guard?

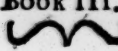
6. Now, this is a Case capable of being misunderstood, and misapply'd; and therefore, as there is some room left for, so indeed there is great need of Prudence and Moderation, to prevent an Error in the other Extream: For if a Man's Disposition be crooked and deform'd; if there be any thing vicious and offensive to the World, this ought certainly to be kept in; or, to speak more properly, be brought into Shape: For there is a vast Difference between living easy and unconstrained, and being rude, and slovenly, and careless in our Behaviour. We should not take Pains to impose upon those we converse with; but we are not therefore bound to turn their Stomachs. A Man should not tell a Lye; but he is not obliged to tell all the Truth neither. That then, which we are to take Care of in this Point, is, to speak as much as is convenient, and to be sure that all we do speak be true; to distinguish between twatling and openness in Conversation, and in Behaviour between a Freedom consistent with Sincerity and good Manners, and a morose Indifference, which breaks through all Reserves, and declares War with all Decency and Respect.

10. There are indeed two sorts of People, in whom Hypocrisy is in some Degree excusable; I might say indeed, necessary and becoming; but the Reasons which vindicate and uphold them in it, are very different from each other. The first are Princes, who

who, as I have observed before, may sometimes be obliged to dissemble upon very important Considerations. The publick Good, the Safety of their Persons, the Peace of the Government may require it; all these might be ruined and lost, if the Counsels and Methods that support them, were carried so openly, that every Stander by cou'd see through, and penetrate into the bottom of the Governour's Designs: And therefore, taking the Condition of the World as it now stands, so full of Treachery and Villainy, it is no Derogation to Justice or Religion, to say, that Princes may be allowed some Measures in their publick Character, which neither they, nor any other Man, is privileged to take in his private one. Would all their Subjects be faithful and do their Duty, then indeed the Rules of political and private Virtue would be the same; but now Men must be governed, not according to what they should be, but to what they actually are. And as Laws, when made for the Reformation of Vice, suppose the worst of Men, so the Administrators of those Laws must by their Wariness and Wisdom, provide against the worst.

The second sort of Dissimulation in some Degree allowable, is in Women; and the Reason that enforces it, is Decency, and the gracefulness of Modesty and Reserve, in their Sex more especially: For what would be interpreted Freedom and Assuredness in a Man, would in one of them be condemned for Impudence: And therefore the little Disguises in their Carriage and Looks, the making up their Mouth, and affected Ignorances, look pretty enough, and have a becoming Air of Bashfulness and Innocence. And besides, these do no manner of Hurt; for they pass for things of course, and no body but Fools,



BOOK III. Fools, and Men utterly unacquainted with the World,  can ever be imposed upon by them. But this is a trouble I might have spared myself; for the Sex are so naturally addicted to Hypocrisy, that it is very needless to recommend, or to instruct them in it. They are indeed a fair Outside all over; their Faces, their Cloaths, their Talk, their Looks, their Smiles, their Tears, have all but too much of Art in them; and are contrived to make a Shew: Nay, which is still worse, they do not only dissemble with the Living, but with the Dead too; the long Veil, and the dark Room, the Bed so many Days, and the Chamber so many Weeks; what are these, but the Pomp and Pretence of Sorrow? Appearances which all indifferently are obliged to make, whether for good or bad Husbands, in point of Decency, forsooth, and conformity to Custom; when yet there is so little at the bottom of this composed Formality, and the Farce is so very gross, that many of these disconsolate Widows have much ado to hold their Countenances. It was observ'd long since, that \*counterfeit Grief is always most ambitious to shew itself; and a Man would almost be tempted to suspect that all those solemn Fopperies, above the reasonable and comely Expressions of Grief, were invented to make out in Ostentation what was wanting in the reality of their Concern.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of Beneficence and Gratitude.*

THE Art of doing and receiving good Offices, as that respects the Beneficence of the Donor, and the Obligation and Gratitude in a Person

\* Jactantius incedunt quæ minus dolent.

to whom they are done, is a Subject of great Compass and Extent; of great Use, but withal of much Intricacy, and Difficulty. There is not any one Instance, in which Men are more deficient. Very few know either how to oblige, or how to be obliged, as becomes them. It looks as if Goodness, and Desert, and Gratitude were in the Declension, and Revenge and Ingratitude in the Ascendant; as if those were a Loss and Diminution, and these a Gain and Privilege; so eager and zealous we are generally in the former, so very cold and indifferent, so averse indeed to the latter. Thus *Tacitus* observes, that \* *Thanks are reputed Trouble, but Revenge an Advantage*; and *Seneca*, that *Injuries and Affronts make much deeper Impression than Favours and Kindnesses*: We will therefore endeavour at present to correct and redress this so common Defect (or Corruption rather) of Mankind; by treating at present, first of Beneficence, under which I comprehend Humanity, Liberality, Charity, or Relief of the Poor and distressed; and of their Contraries, Inhumanity, Niggardliness, and want of Compassion: And then secondly, of the Obligation, the Gratitude of the Receiver, or the Neglect and Ingratitude after such Kindnesses receiv'd.

Which way soever we turn our Eyes, they are every where presented with Arguments and Instances for the Exercise of Kindness and Beneficence. God, and Nature, and universal Reason, and Equity, all join in their Invitations to it. In God, whether we consider his Essence, or his Providence, what he is, and what he does, we see nothing but Goodness; for he is the very Perfection of it, Goodness

1.  
Motive to  
Beneficence

\* *Gratia oneri est, Ultio in quaestu habetur. Altius Injuriae quam merita descendunt.*

itself,

BOOK III. itself, and \* *of all the Resemblances and Imitations of the Divinity that human Nature is capable of, the nearest Approach we can make toward him is in this Particular; as Tully very justly observed: And Pliny; when one Man succours another, he does an Act more than human, and becomes as it were a God to his Brother.* The Inducements which Nature furnishes us with, are many. Such as: the sensible Satisfaction a Man feels in seeing the Person whom he hath obliged; the Consideration, that he is a Person of the same Condition with himself, cast in the same Mould, wrought up of the same Materials, a Transcript of the same Original; for † *nothing is so agreeable to the Dictates of Nature, as to assist one who is a Partaker of the same Nature;* it is a generous and noble Act, worthy a Person of Honour and Virtue, to be useful and beneficial to others, to embrace, and improve, nay, to seek Opportunities of being so. For the ‡ *liberal Man does not content himself with taking them when they come in his Way; but he goes out to meet, and takes Pains to find them.* And it is an old Adage, that truly noble Blood will neither let a Man tell a Lye, nor be wanting in good Offices, where they are seasonable. There is somewhat of Greatness and a commendable Pride in doing Kindnesses, as there is in Meanness in having them done to us; and this may be one convenient Sense of that Saying which St. Paul ascribes to our Saviour; *It is more blessed to give than to receive.* He that gives, gets himself Honour, and gains an Advantage; he becomes Master of the Receiver, and

\* Nullâ re propius ad Dei naturam accedimus, quam Beneficiâ. Dei est mortalem succurrere mortali.

† Nihil tam secundum Naturam, quam juvare consortem Naturæ.

‡ Liberalis etiam dandi causas quærit.

acquires



## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1293

acquires a Right in him; as on the other Hand, the Receiver sells his Freedom, and is no longer at his own disposal. The first Inventor of good Offices (says one with Ingenuity enough) contrived the strongest Fetters that ever were, to bind and captivate Mankind. Upon this Account, several People have refused to accept of Kindnesses, because they would not suffer their Liberty to be entrenched upon; and particularly, if the Person conferring the Favour, were one whom they had no Kindness for, and did not care to be obliged to. For which Reason it is, that the old Philosophers forbid us to receive any Kindnesses from ill Men, because in so doing we let them get a Hank upon us. *Cæsar* used to say, that no Musick was so charming in his Ears, as the Requests of his Friends, and the Supplications of those in want. The Motto of Greatness is, *Ask me*: And that Command and Promise gives us a noble Idea of the Majesty of God, *Call upon me in the time of trouble; so will I hear thee, and thou shalt glorifie me.* Psal. 1. 15. This is likewise the most honourable Way of employing our Power and Plenty; which, while we keep by us, and in our own private Possession, are called by the mean Names of Houses, Lands, and Money; but when drawn out into Use, and expended to the Benefit of our Brethren, they are dignified with new and august Titles; and from thenceforth commence good Actions, Liberality, Magnificence, Alms, and Treasures in Heaven. Nay, it is not only the most honourable, but the most prudent and profitable Method of trafficking with them; \* *the gainfullest of all Arts, the best and least hazzardous Way of Merchandise*; for here the Principal is secured, and the Interest arising

\* *Ars quaestuosissima, optima Negotiatio.*

upon

BOOK III. upon it rises exceeding high. And, to say the very  
 Truth, no part of what we have is so properly our  
 own, none turns to such a prodigious Encrease, so  
 comfortable Account, as that which we expend  
 upon good Uses: What lies by us is lock'd up, and  
 hid privately; it lies and wastes; or at least it ne-  
 ver grows upon our Hands; and it is sure to give  
 us the Slip at last, either by some of those infinite  
 Accidents, by which all such things are liable to be  
 snatch'd from us; or by that certain and inevitable  
 Separation, by which Death will shortly snatch us  
 away from them. But so much of these as is thus  
 put out, can never fail, never be wrested from us;  
 never rust, or decay, or lie buried in Unprofitable-  
 ness. Hence it was, that *Mark Anthony*, when de-  
 prest, and at an Ebb of Fortune so low, that he  
 had nothing but Death left at his own Disposal,  
 cry'd out, that \* *he had lost all, except what he had  
 given away*. And thus you see, what a brave and  
 noble, and becoming Temper this compassionate,  
 and good natur'd Frame of Soul is; how worthily  
 a ready Inclination to do good to all the World,  
 attracts the Love and Admiration of all that con-  
 sider it; how amicable and engaging, how power-  
 ful and irresistible the Charms of Generosity are:  
 As indeed, on the other Hand, nothing is so mean  
 and sneaking, so detestable, and despicable, so de-  
 formed and unnatural, as Hard-heartedness, and In-  
 sensibility of other Peoples Misfortunes; it is there-  
 fore deservedly stiled Inhumanity, to intimate by  
 that Name, that such People are Monsters, and  
 not Men. And, as the Vices themselves, so the  
 Source and Causes of them stand in direct Oppo-  
 sition to each other: For, as Beneficence springs

\* Hoc habeo quodcunque dedi.

## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1295

from Greatness and Gallantry of Spirit, so unreasonable Parsimony and Hard-heartedness is the Spawn of Cowardice, and Brutish Degeneracy of Soul. CHAP. XI.

Now, there are two ways of becoming beneficial to our Neighbours; either as we minister to their Profit, or to their Pleasure. The first procures us Admiration and Esteem; the second Love and good Will. The first is much more valuable, because it regards Mens Necessities and Distresses; it is acting the Part of a tender Father, and a true Friend. There is likewise a Difference in these Acts of Kindness themselves; some are due from us, such as the Laws of Nature, or positive Institution require at our Hands; others are free, and what we are under no express Obligation for, but the Effect of pure Choice and Love. The latter of these two Sorts seem to be more brave and generous; but yet the former too, when discharged with Application, and Prudence, and sincere Affection, are very excellent and commendable, though they have the Nature of a Debt, and are such as we cannot be faithful to our Duty, and dispence with our selves in.

Now the true Beneficence or Kindness is not properly in the Gift itself, that which a Man sees, and feels, and tastes; this is too gross a Notion, and all we can allow is, that these are the Matter, the Signs, and the Demonstrations of our Kindness; but the thing itself is the Disposition and good Heart. The outward and visible Part may be very small and inconsiderable; and yet that within may at the same time be wondrous great: For this may have proceeded from an exceeding Eagerness and Affection; a hunger and thirst of doing good; watching, and contriving, and seeking Occasions for it; and esteeming such Actions in our Saviour's Terms, *One's Meat*



BOOK III. *Meat and Drink*; snatching them as greedily, and receiving as sensible a Satisfaction and Delight from them, as from the most necessary Refreshments by which this Life of ours is sustain'd. A Man may have given to the very utmost of his Ability, and by this means exhaust that little Store which is scarce sufficient for his own Occasions; or he may part with that which is particularly valuable and dear to him. These are the Considerations that enhanced the Value of the Widow's Mite, and render'd one small Piece of Money, not equal only, but far superior to all the large Donations of the rich Contributors. And thus Heathen Authors have likewise concurr'd in their Estimate of good Works. \* *In every Benefit, say they, we are to have a more than ordinary Respect to that, which a Man, by relieving his Neighbour, freights himself in; and for the sake of another's Convenience and Advantage, postpones and forgets his own.* On the other Hand, where the Gift itself is large, the Obligation may be very small; and indeed, in great Gifts there are some Circumstances which most commonly make it so: For such are bestow'd frequently with Unwillingness and Reluctancy: They expect to be much entreated, and long attended for them, and take time to consider, whether they shall bestow them or not. Now this hath too much of Pomp and Formality in it; such a Man is desirous to magnify his own Bounty; and after all, he gives more to gratify his own Vanity and Ambition, than to supply the Necessities of them that want; and so himself is the Giver and Receiver both. But that which gives another very just Preference in the Case before us, is,

\* In Beneficio hoc suspiciendum, quod alteri dedit, ablaturus sibi, utilitatis suæ oblitus.

## *Of Beneficence and Gratitude.* 1297

that the external Benefit may be presently wrested CHAP. XI.  
from us again; or if not by Fraud and Force, yet  
it may be spent, or lost; it may decay upon our  
Hands, and in process of time vanish quite; but the  
inward Disposition, with which it was conferred,  
is permanent and firm. The Liberty, or the Health,  
the Wealth, or Honour, or Preferment bestow'd up-  
on us, may by some fresh Accident be lost in an In-  
stant; but still the Kindness and the Obligation re-  
mains entire.

Now the Directions, by which a Man may do  
well to govern himself in the exercise of this excel-  
lent Virtue, are such as follow. 4.  
Rule for  
Beneficence.

First, with regard to the Persons who are the  
proper Objects of our Liberality, and whether it be  
fit to extend it to all, as their Wants and our own  
Abilities furnish Opportunities for it. This is a ve-  
ry reasonable Enquiry, and highly necessary to be  
resolv'd; because, by doing good to wicked Men,  
and such as do not deserve our Kindness, a Man may  
seem to be guilty of a great many Faults at once.  
This derives Censure and an ill Name upon the Do-  
nor, and exposes his Bounty to very vile Interpre-  
tations; it hardens and supports such People in their  
Wickedness and Extravagance; breeds envy and  
malicious Thoughts; takes away all Distinctions be-  
tween the Good and the Bad, by allowing the same  
Countenance and Encouragement to Vice which  
is due to Virtue and Desert: For certainly those  
Assistances which depend upon our own free Choice,  
and are the Effect of Grace, and not any Debt by  
virtue of Obligation and Duty, Worth and Good-  
ness have the best Title to; but yet extreme Necess-  
sity, and the general Good of Mankind lay all in  
common. In these two Cases none are excluded,

O o o o

but

Book III.

but even the wicked and the ungrateful have right to come in for a Share, if their Necessities are urgent; and if they be so mingled and interspers'd with the good, that one cannot enjoy the benefit, without the other partaking of it too: And undoubtedly it is much better to do good to those who do not deserve it for the sake of them that do, than to withhold our Assistance from those that do deserve, in Revenge, and for the Discouragement of them who do not. Accordingly we see, that God sets us a daily Example of universal Beneficence, *He causeth his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and giveth rain to the just and to the unjust.* These are the Effects of a general Providence: But then he bestows, over and above these, some special Blessings, which are the Effects of a distinguishing Providence; there he makes choice of his own faithful and beloved ones; and that Rule mentioned by our blessed Lord takes place; *It is not meet to take the Children's Bread, and to cast it unto Dogs.* \* *There is a vast deal of Difference* (says the Philosopher) *between not excluding a Man, and making him your choice.* In Cases of Extremity, when Affliction and Necessity cry aloud for present Redress and Assistance, we should extend our Charity without Distinction of Merit, and it will not serve us to say, that Men are unworthy. † *Nature calls upon us to be serviceable to all without Exception;* and the Consideration of his being a Man, is sufficient to excite our Compassion, when Opportunities of doing Good offer themselves to us. Humanity bids us bear a tender regard, and lend our Endeavours to those that seek, and stretch out their Hands to implore our help; not to pur-

\* Multum refert, utrum aliquem non excludas, an eligas.

† Hominibus prodesse Natura jubet ubicunque Homini beneficio locus.



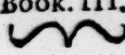
sue them who turn their Backs upon us: And our Kindness is much more due, much better bestowed, where we are able to do good, than where they who receive it are capable of doing good to us. It is an Act of Generosity to take the weaker Side, to support those that are sinking, to heal a broken Fortune, and support a drooping Spirit, and to rob the Conqueror of his Pride and Triumph, by snatching the Spoils, and rescuing the vanquished Prey out of his Hand: Thus *Chelomis* is said to have done. She was both the Wife and Daughter of a King. These two Princes had a Dispute with one another; in which, while her Husband had the Advantage, she shewed her self a dutiful Daughter, and follow'd her Father's Fortunes, never forsaking him in his greatest Distress; but when the Chance of War turned, and cast the Scale on the other side, then she turned too, and left her Father to enjoy his Prosperity; and thought this a proper Season to exert the Affection and Fidelity of a Wife, by sticking close to her Husband in his calamitous Condition.

A second Rule for the Exercise of this Virtue, is to do it frankly and chearfully; *Not grudgingly, or of Necessity*, says St. Paul, *for God loveth a chearful giver.* And \* *the Kindness you do is doubly welcome, when what is seasonable and necessary comes of its own accord*, without staying to be ask'd or pressed to it. For so much of Entreaty and Attendance as it costs, so much of the Value and Satisfaction is abated. And † *no Man takes any great Joy in being beholden to a Man for that which he did not so properly receive, as extort.* That which is gotten by Impor-

\* Bis est gratum quod optus est, si ultro offeras.

† Nemo lubenter debet, quod non accepit, sed expressit.

Non tulit gratus, qui accepit rogans; imò nihil charius emittitur quàm quod Precibus.

Book. III.  tunity is dear bought: He that obtains by dint of asking, ought not to esteem his Supply a Gift; for Attendance, and Address, and earnest Supplications are a very high Price, and pay well for the Purchase. He that asks, humbles and debases himself, he acknowledges himself inferior, is ashamed and out of Countenance; pays mighty Deference and Respect to the Party applied to, and the true *English* of all his Behaviour is that beggarly Form, *Your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, &c.* This is the very Ground of what I observed of *Cæsar*; it was the Pride of his Heart that made him say, after the Defeat of *Pompey*, that he never took so much Delight in any thing, as in being supplicated and sought to; and, to gratify his own Vanity in this particular, he gave all, even his Enemies, some Hopes of obtaining their Requests in time, that so he might drill them on to repeat and continue their Applications to him. And what can we make of this? It was not out of any good Intentions to others, but meerly to please himself, that he shewed himself exorable, and easy of Access: For Kindness comes easy; and therefore as an Emblem of its doing so, the Graces of old were described and painted with loose, transparent Garments, not girt close about their Bodies, but flowing and free; to shew, that Favours should have nothing of Trick or Design, nothing strait-lac'd, or of Constraint in them.

6. A third Qualification necessary to recommend any Favour, is the conferring it readily, and out of Hand; this indeed seems to have some Connexion and Dependence upon the former: For all Kindnesses are to be rated by the Good-will and Disposition of the Donor; and \* he who delays his Re-

\* Qui tardè facit, diu noluít.

## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1301

lief, was so long in a State of Unwillingness to give CHAP. XI.  
 it. And as that Loathness is a very great Rebate, so the speedy Compliance and Alacrity of the Mind is a great Enhancement, and doubles the Gift. That cold Indifferency, and those trifling Put-off's, commonly practised upon such Occasions, are approved by no body but Men of Insolence, who make it their Diversion to banter and abuse People: For Diligence and Dispatch are commendable in all Cases, and in none more requisite than in this now before us. There are Five different Methods of proceeding in it; Three of which are liable to Censure, and the other Two as worthy of Commendation. A Man may deny, but he may keep one in Suspence and Expectation a great while first: This is a double Injury. He may refuse immediately, or he may grant at last, and both these amount much to one, when the Matter comes to be fairly computed; at last, *\* be that is soon said Nay, is less deceiv'd.* The fourth is to grant speedily; and this is very well: But the best of all is, to prevent a Request; to foresee Mens Wants and Wishes, and never put them to the Expence of asking at all.

A fourth Commendation is the Giving without any prospect of a Requital; and indeed this is the very thing, wherein the Virtue of Beneficence chiefly consists; for when once you make it mercenary, it ceases to be a Virtue. † There is a great deal of less Kindness where there are Expectations cherished of the Benefit reflecting back again upon the first Mover. But when there is no Opportunity, no Possibility of a Return; nay, when Matters are carried so privately, that the Party obliged does not so much

\* Minus decipitur, cui negatur celeriter.

† Tunc est Virtus dare Beneficia non reditura.



BOOK III. as know his Benefactor, then the Benefit shines in its full Lustre. If a Man study the Point of Retaliation, he will give but slowly, and by Piece-meal; because this is the thrifty way of being as little out of Pocket as he can. Now it were much better to renounce all Thoughts of being paid again, than to be slack in doing good; because by coveting this Return, which is accidental only, and foreign to the Purpose, he loses that which is the true and natural Recompence, the inward Complacency of Mind, and the ravishing Satisfactions which result from a Sense of doing good. A Man should not need to be twice intreated for the same thing: For, as the being guilty of Injustice is of it self abominable and base, and there needs no other Consideration than the Dishonour and Obliquity of the Thing to defer us from it; so the doing Good is a generous and becoming Act, and it is a Fault to want any other Motive, more than its native Beauty and Excellence; the staying till we are argued and importuned into Matters of this Nature, betrays either much Ignorance, or great Indifference. In a Word, \* to keep one's Eye upon the Return, and the Account our Kindness is like to turn to, is not properly doing good with our Substance, but turning the Penny, and putting it out to Interest; these are Methods too distant to be reconciled and confounded together; and † we should always distinguish between Giving, and driving such a Trade. Such Men are right enough served, when their Expectations are disappointed: As that Woman must not pretend to Honour and Virtue, who denies her Lover only to inflame his Passion the more, and

\* Non est Beneficium quod in quæstum mittitur.

† Demus Beneficium, non fœneremus. Dignus est decipi qui de recipiendo cogitavit, cum daret.

in hopes that he will renew his Courtship; so that <sup>CHAP. XI.</sup> Man must not think to pass for liberal and generous, who sends away his Petitioner to Day, that he may see him again to Morrow, or expends that which he hopes will shortly come home to him. For this Reason *Hesiod*, and the old Poets, described the Graces in a State of Virginity; that no Man when he does good Offices, should have regard to Multiplying and Increase. And especially this falls infinitely short of a Christian's Virtue, whose Master hath positively commanded him, upon these Occasions, to hope for nothing again, to look at no other Recompence than that distant and future one, reserved for him by his Pay-master in Heaven; and hath described the very Heathens and Publicans, the most ignorant and most scandalous sort of Men by this Character, that even they will give and lend to those from whom they have any hopes of receiving as much again.

Another Rule is, to oblige Men in their own way, so as may be most to the Satisfaction of the Receiver; for this convinces him, that what we do of this kind, is entirely for his Sake and Service. And here we shall do well to take notice, that there are two sorts of good Offices. Some are such as derive Credit and Honour upon the Receiver, and these should be contrived in as publick a manner as possible; others tend to his Profit only; they supply his Wants, or support his Weakness, or cover his Shame, or assist him in some other Necessity or Distress. And these should be carried with all the Privacy imaginable; so much, that if it be possible, none but the Person himself should know it: Nay, if that can any way serve his Interest, or be more acceptable to him, it will be very fit and prudent

BOOK III.  dent to keep him in Ignorance too; to let the Kindness drop into his Mouth, and convey it to him under-hand: For many times a Man's Circumstances require a Relief, which he is out of Countenance to accept; and there is a Tenderness due to the Modesty of Persons reduced by Afflictions and Casualties, who cannot change their Souls with their Fortunes. Besides, that all divulging of Kindness is perfectly useless to one that does it upon a true Principle; for a Man's own Conscience cannot possibly be ignorant of his Merit, and this single Witness is as good as ten thousand others.

9. It must likewise be done without the Detriment, or just Offence of any other Person whatever; but especially without the least Violation of Equity and Justice: For a Man cannot with any tolerable Sense be said to do good, when he does ill at the same time: Those that want our Relief ought to have it; but we must not relieve them at other People's Expence. What the wise Man says of the Hypocrite's Piety is every whit as true of his Liberality and Charity, *he that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his Offering is ridiculous, and he is as one that killeth the Son before his Father's Eyes.*

Ecclus.  
xxxiv.  
18, 20.

10. A seventh Qualification is, to do it prudently and considerately. A Man is sometimes very hard put to it to answer People's Requests, and at a loss, either how to grant, or how to refuse them. This is a Difficulty owing to a very ill Disposition common to most Men, but most predominant in those that make the Requests; which enclines them to resent a Denial, tho' never so reasonable in its self, and never so tenderly express'd. Some by this means are driven to a very poor, and indeed a very dishonest Refuge; which is, to promise every thing



to every Body, tho' they are sensible oftentimes, CHAP. XI. that it is not in their Power; and which is still worse, conscious to themselves, that it never was in their Intention to make it good; but, all this notwithstanding, they shift off the Difficulty till it comes to the very Point of Performance, and trust to some Accident or other to bring them off, by making such an Alteration in their Affairs, that the Obligation shall cease: Or else, if it be still expected that they should stand by their Engagements, some paltry Evasions are laid hold of in their Excuse: But still the evil Day is put far from them, and the Suitor's Mouth is stopp'd for the present. Now all this is quite wrong, and a miserable instance of human Frailty; for no Man ought to promise, or encourage the Expectation of any thing which he either is not able, or may not lawfully, or does not really and sincerely design, to make good to the uttermost. And when he finds himself at a Bay, enclos'd between these two Difficulties, of making a Promise, which is either unjust, or inexpedient, or dishonourable and unbecoming his Character to fulfil; or else of giving a Denial, which is sure to be ill taken, and breed Mischief and Discontent; the best Course to extricate himself, is to break, to evade the Blow; either by declining a positive Answer, or else by wording his Promise so cautiously, and in general Expressions of Civility and good Inclination, that the Person may have nothing of a punctual Engagement to fasten upon. There is, I confess, somewhat of Management and Cunning in doing so, which may make this Advice seem strange and inconsistent with that Frankness of Temper, and Sincerity in Conversation, which I have been lately recommending; but we are to consider this

Book III. as a Case of Necessity, that when Men will be unreasonable, we must deal with them as we can, and that they deserve at least to be thus treated.

11. An eighth necessary Ingredient is, that all things of this kind be done with a true Spirit of Humanity and sincere Affection; for such a Temper will be very sensibly concern'd for the Benefit of all Mankind; but more particularly it will bear a very tender Regard to the Miseries of the Indigent and Afflicted; which is a Virtue more particularly distinguished by the Name of Mercy and Pity. Those who want these Bowels, are Irregularities and Deviations from Nature, and so distant from Grace and Goodness, that the Apostle reckons this as one of the Characters of the last and worst Times. But then, the Compassion I mean here, is a brave, and masculine, and generous Quality; not a Softness and Effeminacy of Soul which melts into Tears, and creates Perplexity and Disorder of Thought: For this is a faulty Passion, such as weak and wicked People are capable of falling under; concerning which I have already made some Remarks in its proper Place, and demonstrated, that there is a criminal and foolish Pity, as well as a wise, well-governed, and commendable one. We ought indeed to succour the Afflicted; but we must not afflict our selves for them, nor make their Miseries our own. This were unprofitable to them, and greatly prejudicial to us; nor may we strain a Point of Decency or Duty upon their Account; for Charity cannot dispense with Justice, nor set aside our other Obligations. God himself hath positively forbidden us to favour a poor Man in his Cause: And God himself and the Saints are said to be pitiful and compassionate; but yet not so as to give any Disturbance to the Per-

## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1307

CHAP. XI.

Perfection of their own Happiness, any more than to impair the Perfection of their Holiness, in the Methods made use of for the Succour of those they do pity.

A ninth Rule is, to avoid boasting of our Kindness, and all manner of unnecessary Publication of it. This is a sort of Upbraiding and Reproach; it cancels the Obligation quite, and is the most invidious way of making Men our Enemies, by turning our Favours into Provocations; and therefore it is very well observed to this Purpose, that he who receives a good Turn, should never forget it; but he who does one, should never remember it. 12.

A tenth is, to proceed, and not be weary of well doing, but keep our old Favours always fresh, by the Addition of new ones. This will be a powerful Charm to attract the Affection of all the World, and make Men ambitious of our Friendship: Nor should a Man ever repent of his past Obligations, though sensible, that he hath had the Misfortune to scatter his Seed in a barren and ungrateful Soil. 13.

*\* Let even the Miscarriage of your Kindness give you Satisfaction (says the Philosophers) and let not any such Expression escape you, as, I wish I had never done so; for indeed there can be no just Foundation for grudging our Kindness. The unthankful Wretch injures no body but himself; and the Favour that was misplaced, is not utterly lost or thrown away, it is devoted to a holy and excellent Use, and cannot be destroyed or profaned by the Receiver's Fault. If another will needs be wicked, and act otherwise than becomes him, this can never justify my ceasing to be good. But further, the generous*

*\* Beneficii tui etiam infelicitas placeat: nusquam hæc, vox vellem non fecisse.*

and



BOOK III and noble Spirit distinguishes it self by Perseverance, and triumphs in the Conquest of Ingratitude and Ill-nature, when invincible Beneficence hath heaped Coals of Fire upon their Heads, melted them down, and softened them into good Temper, and a better Sense of Things. So says the Moralist, \* *A great Soul bears with the ungrateful Men so long, till at last he makes them grateful; for obstinate and resolute Goodness will conquer the worst of Men.*

14.

The last Direction I shall lay down upon this Occasion is, that when a thing is given, we should let a Man use and enjoy it quietly, and not be troublesome and unseasonable with him; like some, who when they have put one into any Office or Preferment, will needs be thrusting in their Oar, and execute it for him; or else procure a Man some considerable Advantage, and then make over what Proportion of the Profits they see fit, to themselves. Receivers in such Cases ought not to endure the being thus imposed upon; and any Resentments or Refusals made upon this Account, are by no means the Marks of Ingratitude, but a Preservation of their own Rights. And whatever the Benefactor may have contributed to our Preferment, he wipes out the whole Score, and acquits us of all our Obligations, by these imperious and busy Interpositions. The Story is not amiss concerning one of the Popes, who being pressed hard by one of the Cardinals to do somewhat inconvenient, or perhaps unjust, in his Favour; and (as a Motive, which was thought irresistible, or at least a Resentment which he looked upon as reasonable in case of refusal) the Cardinal re-minding him that his Interest had been

\* *Optimi & ingentis animi est tam diu ferre ingratum, donec feceris gratum; vincit malos pertinax Bonitas*

formerly

## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1309

formerly at his Service, and his Popedom was OW-CHAP. XI.  
ing to it; his Holiness very pertinently reply'd, *If*  
*you made me Pope, pray let me be so, and do not take*  
*back again the Authority you gave me.*

After these several Rules for the directing Men<sup>15.</sup>  
in the Exercise of Beneficence, it may be seasona-<sup>Several</sup>  
ble to observe, that there are Benefits of several<sup>sorts of</sup>  
Sorts; some of them much more acceptable than  
others; and thus some more, and others less engaging.  
Those are more welcome that come from the Hand  
of a Friend, and one whom we are strongly disposed  
to love without any such Inducement: As, on  
the contrary, it is very grievous and grating to be  
obliged by one, of whom we have no Opinion, and  
desire of all things not to be indebted to. Those  
are likewise so, which proceed from a Person whom  
we have formerly obliged ourselves, because this is  
not so much Gratitude, as Justice and Payment of  
Arrears, and so draws very little or no new Debt  
upon us. Such again are those done in a time of  
Necessity, and when our Occasions were very ur-  
gent: These have a mighty Influence; they utter-  
ly deface all past Injuries and Misunderstandings, if  
any such there were, and leave a strong Tie upon  
a Man's Honour; as, on the other Hand, the de-  
nying our Assistance in Cases of Extremity, is ex-  
treamly unkind, and wipes out all Remembrances  
of any former Benefits. Such, once more, are  
those that can be easily acknowledged, and admit  
of a suitable Return; as, on the contrary, such as  
the Receiver is out of all Capacity to require, com-  
monly breed Hatred and a secret Dislike: For there  
is a Pride in most Men, that makes them uneasy to  
be always behind-hand; and hence he who is sen-  
sible that he can never make amends for all he hath  
received,

BOOK III. received, every time that he sees his Benefactor, fancies himself dogg'd by a Creditor, upbraided by a living Witness of his Insufficiency or Ingratitude; and these secret Reproaches of his own Mind, give great Uneasiness and Discontent; for no Bankrupt can bear being twitted with his Poverty. Some again there are, which the more free and honourable, and respectful they are, the more burdensome and weighty they are; provided the Receiver be a Person of Honour and Principle: Such, I mean, as bind the Consciences and the Wills of Men; for they tie a Man up faster, keep him more tight, and render him more cautious and fearful of failing, or forgetfulness. A Man is ten times more a Prisoner, when confined by his own Word, than if he were under Lock and Key. It is easier to be bound by legal and publick Restraints, and Forms of Engagements, than by the Laws of Honour and Conscience; and two Notaries in this Case are better than one. When a Man says, *I desire nothing but your Word, I depend upon your Honesty*; such a one indeed shews greater Respect: But if he be sure of his Man, he puts him upon a stricter Obligation, and himself upon better Security than Bonds and Judgments. A Man who engages nothing but his Word, is always in Fear and Constraint, and upon his Guard, lest he should forfeit or forget it. Your Mortgagee, and he that is under the Power of legal Forms, is delivered from that Anxiety, and depends upon his Creditor's Instruments, which will not fail to refresh his Memory, when the Bonds become due. Where there is any external Force, the Will is always less intent; and where the Constraint is less, there in Proportion the Application of the Will is greater.

\* *What*



## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1311

\* *What the Law compels me to, is very hardly my own Choice; for I do not properly choose, but submit to it.* CHAP. XI.

Benefits produce Obligations, and from Obligations again fresh Benefits spring up: So that Beneficence is reciprocally the Child and the Parent, the Effect and the Cause; and there is a twofold Obligation, which we may distinguish by an active and a passive Obligation. Parents, and Princes, and all Superiors are bound in Duty, and by virtue of their Station, to procure the Benefit and Advantage of those whom either the Laws and Order of Nature, or the political Constitutions of Government, or any other Law relating to their Post, have committed to their Inspection and Care. And not only so, but all in general, whether their Character be publick or not, if they have Wealth and Power, are by the Law of Nature obliged to extend their Help and Bounty towards the necessitous and distressed. And this is the first Sort of Obligation. But then from good Offices thus done, whether they be in some regard owing to us, as flowing from the Duty incumbent upon the Benefactor, by virtue of this former Engagement: Or whether they be the Effect of pure Choice, entirely Grace, and nothing of Debt, there arises the second sort of Obligation, whereby the Receivers are bound to acknowledge the Kindness, and to be thankful for it. All this mutual Exchange, and Propagation of Engagements and good Turns, *Hesiod* hath intimated to us by his Description of the *Graces*, when he paints them three in Number, and all joining Hands.

The first, or original Obligation, is satisfy'd by the due Performance of those particular Offices, 16.  
Of the Obligation.

\* *Quod me Jus cogit, vix à Voluntate impetrem.*  
which 17.  
The first original Obligation.

BOOK. III. which each Person's respective Station requires from him. And what these are, we shall very shortly take Occasion to explain at large, when the special Duties, which make up the other Branch of Justice to our Neighbour, come to be consider'd. In the mean while I desire my Reader to observe, that the primitive Engagement we are treating of at present, though it cannot be utterly dissolved, yet it may be tied faster and closer, or slacken and sit more loose upon us, by several accidental Circumstances; and particularly, it may be mightily strengthned, or diminished, by the Conditions and Behaviour of those we have to deal with. If the very Relation of a Subject or a Child bind us to them, the affectionate and dutiful Carriage of good Subjects, and good Children, enforce the Obligations of Kindness yet more. And so again; their Misdemeanors, their Ingratitude, their Insolence and unworthy Behaviour, do in a great Measure discharge us of that Tenderness and Care which they have otherwise a Right to expect from us: And I cannot tell, whether this Observation may not hold in some Degree, with regard to natural Defects also. A Man may, perhaps indeed he cannot but have less Affection for a Child, or a Kinsman, or a Servant, not only if he be ill-tempered and perverse, but if he be deformed, or crooked, or unfortunate in his Person: For God, who made Beauty an attractive Excellence, seems himself to have lower'd the natural Value such Persons are to be rated at. But then, whatever Influence this Consideration may have upon our Minds and Inclinations, it must have none at all upon the outward Administration of our Office. These unhappy Persons have the same Title to our Justice and Charity; their

their Necessities put in the same common Claim to our Assistance and Relief; and all the Good we are engaged to upon any publick and general Account, is still to be punctually performed towards them; and indeed the less to be neglected, because those natural Defects are their Misfortunes only, not their Faults; and as such should excite our Pity to supply the Place of Inclination.

But that Obligation which lies before us at present, is the Second Sort; such as arises from Benefits received: And for our better Direction in this Matter, we shall do well to observe,

*First* of all, That the Laws of Acknowledgement and grateful Returns are natural and universal; they are not confined to Humanity alone, but even Brutes themselves have a Sense of, and Share in them. Nay, and those too, not only tame, and manageable, and domestick Animals, which might tempt us to think this Disposition the Effect of Art or Custom; but even the wildest and most savage Creatures: For in them we meet with several notable Instances of Gratitude: One Example whereof I have formerly mention'd, in the Behaviour of a Lion to the *Roman* Slave, who was expos'd in the Theatre to be devoured by him.

18.  
*The Second*  
*Obligation.*  
  
Book I.  
Chap. 8.  
Sect. 12.

*Secondly*, It is a virtuous Act, and a certain Indication of a good Mind; for which Reason it is really more valuable than Beneficence it self: For Liberality often proceeds from Plenty, or Power; Regard to one's own Interest or Reputation, and not very often from pure Virtue; but Gratitude cannot spring from any other Cause than an ingenious Disposition: And therefore, though the doing of good Offices may be more desirable, yet the grateful Acknowledgment, and studying to requite



BOOK III. them when they are done, is the more commendable of the two.

*Thirdly*, Gratitude is likewise an easy and a pleasant Duty; and yet such as no body can be excused from, upon the Pretence of Disability, or want of Opportunity; because it is always in our own Disposal, always present with us. Now, nothing is so easy, as to obey and follow the Dictates of Nature; and nothing so pleasant and satisfactory, as for a Man to acquit himself of Obligations, to come out of Debt, and set himself free, and upon the Level with his Neighbours.

19. From all that hath been said upon this Subject, we cannot but discern, how much of Baseness, and Meanness of Spirit, the Vices of Ingratitude and Neglect carry with them; how deservedly odious they are to all the World. \* *To call a Man ungrateful, is the worst and blackest Accusation you can lay to his Charge.* It is an Offence against Nature, and a certain Indication of an ill Temper; a scandalous and reproachful Vice; such as is not to be endured, because it breaks all Society and good Correspondence. The Revenge which follows upon an Injury and the Ingratitude which follows a Kindness, are both bad and blameable, but not equally so. Revenge is indeed the stronger and more violent Passion; but it hath less of Deformity and Degeneracy of Soul, than Ingratitude. The Evils and Diseases of our Minds are like those incident to our Bodies; where those that are more dangerous and mortal are not always the most painful and acute: And therefore Revenge may disorder a Man more, but Ingratitude corrupts his Virtue more. In the former there is some Appearance of Justice, Men are not ashamed

\* *Dixeris maledicta cuncta, cum ingratum hominem dixeris. Ingratitudo grave vitium, intolerabile quod dissociat homines.*

## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1315

to pursue and own that publicly; but the latter is CHAP. XI.  
all over Infamy and Baseness, and no Man was ever  
yet so abandoned or hardy, to confess or glory in it.

Now Gratitude, to render it compleat, and in  
all Points what it ought to be, must have these fol-  
lowing Qualifications.

*First*, A Man must receive the Kindnesses done  
to him, chearfully and friendly; he must look and  
express himself well pleased with them. \* *He that  
gives a Favour kind Entertainment, hath made the  
first Payment already.* Secondly, He must never for-  
get, or be unmindful of it. † *He that forgets his  
Benefactor, is of all others the farthest from Gratitude;  
for how is it possible a Man should discharge this Duty,  
who hath suffered the Foundation of it to slip quite from  
under him?* Thirdly, He must not be sparing to  
own and publish it, ‡ *It is an Argument of Ingenu-  
ity and becoming Modesty, frankly to confess who we  
have been the better for; and this is a Reward due to  
the Maker of our Fortunes.* As we have found by  
comfortable Experience, the Hearts and Hands of  
our Friends open to our Advantage, so it is fit they  
should find our Mouths open too, and our Tongues  
liberal in the Declarations of their Readiness to assist  
us: And that our Memory upon this Occasion may  
never want refreshing, it will be decent to mention  
the Advantage we have receiv'd, by the Title of  
his Gifts who conferred it upon us. The *Fourth*  
and last is, to make a Return, and Restitution,  
wherein we may govern our selves according to these  
Four Rules.

\* Qui gratè Beneficium accepit, primam ejus Pensionem  
solvit.

† Ingratissimus omnium, qui oblitus; nusquam enim gra-  
tus fieri potest, cui totum Beneficium elapsum est.

‡ Ingenui pudoris est fateri per quos profeceremus, & hæc  
quasi merces Authoris.

P P P P 2

*First,*

*First,* That this be not done too hastily : We should not be extreamly eager and anxious in the Thing; for this hath a very ill Savour : It looks like Pride, as if we were loth, and scorned to be obliged ; and for that Reason were impatient to get out of their Debt. This ministers a very just Cause of Jealousy to our Benefactor, that his Kindness was not well taken, when we shew our selves so very uneasy under the Engagements it lays upon us. A convenient Time is therefore necessary to be taken, and a favourable Opportunity waited for, tho' this ought not to be very distant neither, nor be put off to too long a Day : For the *Graces* are painted young, to hint, that Favours should not grow old upon our Hands. I add farther, that this Opportunity should be one that offers it self of its own Accord ; or if of our seeking, yet so contrived, that it may be void of all Suspicion of Vanity and Ostentation.

*Secondly,* We should pay back with Interest, and exceed the Proportion of what we receive : Like a good Soil, which cannot maintain the Character, if it only produce the Seed again ; so a grateful Man \* will forfeit that Title, if he restore no more than the Principal. But the least we must do, is to return as much as we received ; and that with all possible Demonstrations, that we thought our selves under an Obligation, and wished it in our Power to do more. That what we have done in the mean while, is not looked upon as a full Satisfaction, but only as an Acknowledgement of the Debt, and a Testimony of our Sincerity and Respect.

\* *Ingratus est, qui Beneficium reddit sine usurâ.*

*Thirdly,*



## Of Beneficence and Gratitude. 1317

*Thirdly*, That these Returns be made willingly CHAP. XII.  
and chearfully; for \* *he is not grateful, whom Fear, or Force, make desirous to appear so*: Especially too, if the Kindness was done frankly and generously; for we should pay back in the same Coin, and with all the commendable Qualities the Favour brought along with it to recommend it: *And that Man is much to blame, who is more ready and chearful when he is to receive a Kindness, than when it is expected he should requite one.*

*Fourthly*, If a Man's Circumstances be such as render him incapable of actual Restitution, at least he ought to take care that he be not wanting in Will, and this grateful Disposition is the first and principal Part of the thing; the very Life and Soul both of the Benefit, and of the Acknowledgment in return for it. But, as the Thanks of the Heart ought to be well accepted, where People are in no Condition to pay more; so the Desires and Offers of obliging us, either when our Friends could not compass their Desires, or when he had no need, or did not think fit to accept their Services, must be acknowledged, as if we had actually received them. For here was the Will, though not the Deed; and this, as I said, is the Chief, and of it self a sufficient Ground of Obligation to Gratitude.

† Ingratus est, qui metu gratus est—Eodem animo beneficium debetur quo datur—Errat si quis Beneficium libentius accipit quàm reddit.

*The Second Part of Justice; consisting of Duties owing to, and from certain Persons, and arising from special and Personal Obligations.*

---

## The P R E F A C E.

**M***Y* Design is, in the next Place, to treat of such Duties as are peculiar to some Men, and not to others: And these differ according as the Persons concern'd in them, and their respective Conditions differ. Some of them are unequal, as Superiors and Inferiors: Others are equal and upon the same Level. I shall begin with married Persons, because this is a Relation mixt and compounded of both; they being in some Respects equal, and in others unequal. Besides, it will be convenient to set out with such Instances of Justice as are private and domestick, these being in the very Nature and Order of Things antecedent to those that are publick and political: For Families are the Foundation and first Matter of Kingdoms and Commonwealths: And therefore the Justice exercised here, is the Source, and Model, and first Draught of Publick Administrations. Now, these domestick Relations are Three; Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants. These are the principal Parts of a Family, but that of Husband and Wife is the Ground-work and Beginning of all the rest: And therefore that hath a right to be first considered.

CHAP.

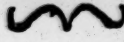
C H A P. XII.

*The Duties of a Married State.*

**I**N Regard the Persons under this Condition may CHAP. XII.  
be considered in different Respects, according 1.  
to that Mixture of Equality and Inequality, which I  
have observed to be in their Circumstances, it must  
needs follow, that the Duties peculiar to such  
a State, are of two Sorts; some common to both,  
and others appropriated to each of the Parties. Now,  
of those that are reciprocal, the Obligation is en-  
tirely the same; and the Consciences of both are  
equally violated by the Breach of them; though,  
according to the Customs of the World, the Pe-  
nalty, and Reproach, and Inconvenience fall more  
heavy on one Side than they do on the other. By  
these reciprocal Duties, I understand, an entire At-  
fection, steady Loyalty, uncorrupted Fidelity, and  
unreserved Communication of all things whatso-  
ever; so that neither of them have any thing they  
can call their own, exclusive to the Right and Claim  
of the other. To these we may add a prudent and  
provident Care, and the Exercise of a just Autho-  
rity over their Family, a diligent Inspection into  
their Manners, and consulting the Advantage of all  
that belong to them. Of this Subject we have Book I.  
spoken more at large in the first Part of this Treatise. Chap. 42.

The other Sort are Duties peculiar to each of 2.  
the Parties; and these differ, according to the Terms Husband's  
of that unequal Relation in which they stand. For Duty.  
those of the Husband, considered as superior, are,  
1. Instructing his Wife, conferring with, and di-  
recting her in every Particular that may any way  
contribute to their Honour and Advantage, taking



BOOK III.  care that she may be ignorant in no Part of the Duty expected from her Character, nor defective in any useful and necessary Accomplishments which she is capable of attaining to; and all this to be done, not in a rough and magisterial Way, but with all possible Gentleness and Sweetness, in the softest and most engaging manner, with the Tenderness of a Parent, and the respectful Affection of a Friend. 2. The maintaining her as his Wife; as befits one whom he hath made the same with himself; and therefore without any regard to her former Circumstances. Whether she did, or did not bring a Fortune, that alters not the Case one whit; such Considerations are quite out of Doors, and nothing now lies before him, but the present Relation between them. He is indeed to be governed by his own Abilities, and will do well to secure the main Chance; but then all the Frugality upon this Account must extend to the retrenching his own Expences too: For whatever Figure he allows himself to make, his Wife ought to be supported suitably, and in Proportion to it. 3. The providing her with Cloaths, which is a Right so undoubted, that all Laws concur in giving a Wife this Privilege; and that in so solemn and incommunicable a manner, that they have denied the Husband a Power of disposing any thing of this kind away from her, and have not left them liable to the Payment of his just Debts. 4. The Rights of the Bed. 5. The loving, cherishing, and protecting her. Those two Extrems which the World are apt to run into, are vicious and abominable. The keeping them under, and treating them like Servants, and the submitting to them as if they were absolute Mistresses. These I take to be the principal and constant

## *The Duties of a Married State.* 1321

constant Duties. Others there are, accidental, and occasional Duties, secondary to, and consequent upon the former; such as taking care of her, if she be sick; ransoming her, if she be taken Captive; burying her honourably, and according to her Quality, if she happen to die; and making Provision by his last Will, for her decent Support in her Widdowhood, and the comfortable Subsistence of the Children she hath brought him.

The Duties of the Wife are to pay all becoming Honour, and Reverence, and Respect to her Husband; looking upon him as a kind and affectionate Master. Accordingly the Scripture takes Notice, that Women eminent for their conjugal Virtues, used to call their Husbands *Lord*; and it is observable, that the same Word, in the *Hebrew* Tongue, signifies *Lord* and *Husband* both.

The Imagination that a Woman lessens her self by this respectful and submissive Behaviour, is most frivolous and foolish; for she that discharges this Part of her Duty well, consults her own, more than her Husband's Honour; and she that is insolent and imperious, humourfome, and perverse, does the greatest Injury to her self. A Second Duty is Obedience to all his lawful and just Commands, complying with his Humours, and bringing over her own Inclinations to his: For a good and a prudent Wife, is like a true Glass, which makes an exact Reflection of the Face that looks in it. She should have no Design, no Passion, no Thought particular to her self; but to be sure, none in Opposition to his. Like Dimensions and Accidents which have no Motion, no separate Existence of their own, but constantly move with, and subsist in the Body whereunto they belong; so Wives should

BOOK III. should always keep close, and be from the very  
 Heart, and even Affections of their Souls, entirely,  
 and inseparably united to their Husbands. A Third  
 is Service, That Part especially, which relates to  
 the providing him seasonable and necessary Refresh-  
 ments, over-looking the Kitchen, ordering the Ta-  
 ble, and not disdaining to do any Offices, or give  
 him any kind of Assistance about his Person; a  
 Duty so fit to be condescended to, that the Anti-  
 ents were wont to reckon washing the Feet in par-  
 ticular, among the Instances of Service due from  
 the Wife to the Husband. Fourthly, Keeping  
 much at home, upon which Account a Wife is  
 compar'd to a Tortoise, that carries her House up-  
 on her Back; and used heretofore to be painted  
 with her Feet naked, an Emblem of her not being  
 provided for stirring abroad. This is a modest and  
 decent Reserve, requisite at all Times, but more  
 especially in the Absence of her Husband: For a  
 good Wife is the exact Reverse of the Moon; she  
 shines abroad, and in full Lustre, when near her  
 Sun; but disappears, and is totally invisible, when  
 at a Distance from him. A Fifth, is Silence; for  
 she should never give her self the Liberty of talking  
 much, except with her Husband, or for him:  
 Here indeed her Tongue may take a Loose, and is  
 subject to no other Restraint, than the speaking no  
 more than is convenient. This, I confess, is a  
 very difficult Point, hard of Digestion in this lavish  
 Age, where Multitude of Words sets up for a  
 Female Virtue; and so rare in all Ages, that the  
 wise Son of *Sirach* calls a silent Woman, a pre-  
 cious and particular Gift of God. The Sixth is ap-  
 plying her self to Housewifery and good Manage-  
 ment; for tho' *Solomon's* Description of a wife and  
 good

Ecclus.  
 xxvi. 14.  
 Prov.  
 xxxi.



## *The Duties of a Married State.* 1323.

good Woman may be thought too mean and mechanical for this refined Generation, yet certain it is, that the Business of a Family is the most profitable, nay, the most honourable Study they can employ themselves in. This is the reigning Accomplishment, that, which so far as Fortune is concerned, ought to be principally esteemed and regarded in the Choice of a Wife : To say the Truth, this is a Fortune singly, and by it self; the Observation, or the Neglect of it, without the Addition of any Casualties, is sufficient to ruin, or to preserve, nay, to make a Family. But this hath the Fate of all other Excellencies too, which is to be exceeding rare and scarce. There are, I confess, a great many sordid and scraping Wives, but very few good Managers. But alas ! there is a vast deal of Difference between the Avarice and Parsimony, and provident Care and good Housewifery.

As to the Enjoyments indulged in a married State, Men should always remember, that this is a chaste, a pure, and a religious Union, consecrated to excellent Mysteries and holy Purposes; and therefore, that all the Pleasures of it should be used with Moderation and Sobriety : In such Measures only, as Prudence and Conscience would direct, when consulted seriously, and without any Bias from gross and carnal Affections. And sure it would very ill become a Society instituted for mutual Comfort, and the Advancement of Religion, and the Preservation of Purity, to throw off all Restraint, and convert their Privilege of lawful Delights, into an Occasion of abandoning themselves to Sensuality and Licentiousness ! This is one of those Cases where no certain Bounds can be prescribed; but it will highly concern all Persons engaged in this State,  
to

BOOK III. to consider the Dignity and the Design of it, and  
 ~~~~~ to keep themselves under such Reserves as may neither profane the one, nor evacuate the other.

C H A P. XIII,

Good Management.

THIS is a very becoming and necessary Care; an Employment not hard to be attained to; every Man of common Discretion is capable of it. But, though the Art be easily learned, the constant Exercise of it is intricate and laborious, by reason of that great Variety of Business in which it engages us; and tho' many Matters about which it is managed, be small and inconsiderable in themselves, yet the constant Succession of them is very troublesome. Domestick Cares give great Uneasiness, because they allow of no Intermission; but, if the Difficulties are occasion'd by the principal Persons in the Family, they fret, and gall, and wrangle inward, and scarce admit of any Rest, or Remedy.

The best Method of rendring this Care easy and effectual, is, to procure some faithful Servants, in whose Honesty we can have entire Confidence and Security: To buy in Provisions in their proper Seasons, and wait for the best Markets: To prevent all unnecessary Waste, which is the Province proper to the Mistress of the House: To make Necessity, and Cleanliness, and Order, our first Care; and when these are served, if our Circumstances will extend farther, then to provide for Plenty, and Shew, and Niceness, a gentile Appearance, and every thing fashionable in it's Kind: To regulate our Expences, by cutting off our superfluous Charge;
 yet

yet so as to have a Regard to Decency and Convenience, and grudge nothing which either Necessity or Duty call for from us. One Shilling saved, with these Limitations, will do us more Credit than ten idly squandered away. But to the avoiding Profuseness, we should also add the other commendable Quality of good Contrivance; for it is a Mark of great Address, when we can make our Penny go a great Way, and appear handsomely with little Charge: But above all things, a Man must be sure to keep within Compass, and suit his way of Living to his present Circumstances: For the most probable Prospects are still but Futurities; and, as such, they must needs be uncertain; so that there cannot be a more ridiculous Folly than to spend high, in Confidence of Reversions and distant Expectations.

A Master's Eye must be every where; and if either he or the Mistress be ignorant and unexperienced in Business, they must take Care to conceal this Infirmary, and pretend at least to understand all that belongs to them: But especially, they must never appear negligent or remiss, but put on an Air of Diligence and Concern however: For, if once the Servants get a Notion of their being careless how their Affairs are managed, they will not fail to make their Advantage, and in a short time, leave them little or nothing to take care of.

C H A P XIV.

The Duty of Parents and Children.

BOOK III.
1.

THE Duty of Parents and Children is reciprocal, and natural on both sides: Thus far they both agree. But, if the Obligation be somewhat stricter on the Child's Part, that Difference is compensated by being more antient on the Parents side: For Parents are the Authors, and first Cause; and of the Two, of much greater Consequence to the Publick. The Peopling the World with good Men and good Patriots, is their Work; the Education and Instruction of Youth is the only Method of effecting it; so that here the first Seeds of political Societies and Institutions are first laid: And of the two Inconveniencies that is much less, which the State suffers from the Disobedience and Ingratitude of Children toward their Parents, than from the Remisness and Neglect Parents are guilty of toward their Children. Hence, in the *Lacedemonian*, and some other very wise Governments, there were Mulcts and other Penalties inflicted upon Parents, when their Children prov'd perverse and ill-tempered: And *Plato* declared, he knew no one Instance that needed a Man's Care more, or deserved it better, than the endeavouring to make a good Son. And *Crates* in great Wrath expostulated thus with his Country-men, " To what Purpose is all
 " this Pains to heap up great Estates, while it is no
 " part of your Concern what manner of Heirs you
 " leave them to? This is like a Man's being nice
 " of his Shoe, and negligent of his Foot. What
 " should a Man do with Riches, who hath not
 " the Sense, nor the Heart to make a good Use of
 " them?

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1327

“ them? This is like an embroidered Saddle and CHAP. XIV.
“ sumptuous Furniture upon a Jaded Horse. ” Pa-
rents indeed are doubly obliged to the Performance
of the Duty. In Kindness to themselves, as they
are their own Off-spring, and in regard to the Pub-
lick, because these young Suckers are the Hopes of
the Tree, the promising Shoots, upon the thriving
and kindly cultivating whereof, the Strength and
Succession of the Body Politick depends. So that
this is killing two Birds with one Stone, serving
ones own private Interest, and promoting the
Welfare and Honour of ones Country, at the same
time.

Now, this Duty consists of four Parts; each of
which succeed in order one to the other; and these
are proportioned to the four Advantages which
Children ought to receive from their Parents in
their proper Seasons : Life, and Nourishment, In-
struction, and partaking of the Advantages of Life
with them. The first respects the time of a Child's
Existence, till his Birth inclusively; the second his
Infancy; the third his Youth, and the last his riper
Age.

Concerning the first of these, I shall only say,
That though it be very little attended to, yet it is
of mighty Consequence, and of strict Obligation :
For no Man, who hath any the least Insight into
Nature, can be ignorant, how hereditary Consti-
tutions and Complexions are: And therefore we may
be good or ill Parents, even before our Children are
born. And I am sure, among other Inducements
to the Care of Health, and a regular way of living,
this ought not to be the least, that those who de-
rive their Being from us, do depend upon this Care
for a great part of their Happiness; for by what
hath

BOOK III. hath been largely discoursed in the first Book, it may plainly appear, that the Capacity and Turn of Mens Minds, and the Soundness and Vigour of their Bodies, are in great Measure owing to a Parent's good Constitution. And certainly, to Men of any Conscience, it should be an eternal Sting and Reproach, to reflect what Rottenness and Diseases they entail upon their Posterity, by abandoning themselves to Lewdness and Debauchery; how dearly those Innocents pay for their Ancestor's Excesses, and what a Barbarity it is to send poor Wretches into the World, to languish out a Life of Misery and Pain, and suffer for Sins which they never committed. So necessary, so important a Virtue is Temperance to Successions and Families, as well as to Mens own Persons: So mischievous is Vice, and so subtilly does it propagate its dismal Effects, even to those that are yet unborn.

4. The *Second* of these Heads I leave to Physicians and Nurses; and having thus briefly dispatch'd the two first, because somewhat foreign to our present Design, and necessary to be mention'd, only for the rendring this Division compleat, I shall proceed to the *Third*, which concerns the Instructing of them, and is a Subject more worthy our serious Consideration.

5. So soon as the Child begins to move, his Soul, and the Faculties of that, as well as the Organs of his Body, shew that he is a rational, and not only a living Creature; great Application should be used to form him well at first: And this Care may be allowed to take Place about four or five Years old, for by that time the Memory and Imagination, and some little Strokes of Reason begin to dawn and display themselves. It is not to be imagined of what
Consequence

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1329

Consequence these first Tinctures and Impressions CHAP. XIV. are to the following Part of Life, and what wonderful Efficacy and Influence they have, even to the changing and conquering Nature itself: For Education is frequently observed to be stronger than natural Disposition, either for the bettering or corrupting of the Man. *Lycurgus* made People sensible of this, by taking two Whelps of the same Litter, which he had brought up different Ways, and in the Presence of a great Company, setting before them Broth and a young Leveret, the Dog which had been brought up tenderly, and within Doors, fell to the Broth; but the other which had been used to range and hunt, neglected his Meat, and pursued his Game.

Now that which renders such Instructions so marvellously powerful, is, that they are taken in very easily, and as hardly lost again: For that which comes first, takes absolute Possession, and carries all the Authority you can desire; there being no antecedent Notions to dispute the Title, or call the Truth of it in Question. While therefore the Soul is fresh and clear, a fair and perfect Blank, flexible and tender, there can be no Difficulty in making it what you please; for this Condition disposes it to receive any manner of Impression, and to be moulded into any manner of Form.

Now, the laying these first Foundations, is no such trivial Matter as is generally believ'd; rather indeed the Difficulty of doing it well, is proportionable to the Importance of its being done so: Nay, not of private only, but publick and general Importance; which makes me think the Complaint of *Aristotle* and *Plutarch* most just, though there is little or no Care taken to redress it, when they cry'd out

Q q q q

loudly

BOOK III. loudly against the Education of Children being left entirely to the Mercy and Disposal of Parents, as a most notorious, deplorable, and destructive Injury to the State: For why should this rest wholly upon Persons who are so often found to be careless, or ignorant, or indiscreet, and by no means fit to govern themselves? Why should not the Publick concern themselves at the Thing, and order some better Care to be taken of it, rather than suffer what they daily do, by sitting still and seeing their own Ruin? *Lacedemon* and *Crete* are almost the only Constitutions where the disciplining of Children hath been prescribed by national Laws: And *Sparta* was indeed the best School in the World; which made *Agessilaus* persuade *Xenophon* to send his Children thither, because there they would be sure to be instructed in the best and noblest Science, that of governing and obeying well; and because this was the Work-house where they made admirable Lawgivers, Generals, Civil Magistrates, and private Subjects. They seemed indeed to be more intent upon the Instruction of Youth, and to lay greater Stress upon it than upon any other thing whatsoever: Inso-much that when *Antipater* demanded fifty Children for Hostages, they replied, that they did not care to part with any at that Age, and had much rather give him twice as many grown Men.

7. Now, before I enter upon this Subject particularly, permit me, by the way, to give one Advertisement, which seems to carry somewhat of Weight in it. Many People take a great deal of Pains to find out the Inclinations of their Children, and what sort of Business they are fit for: But alas! This at those Years is somewhat so very tender, so much in the dark, and so very uncertain, that Parents after

ter

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1331

ter having (as they imagine) pitch'd right, and been CHAP. XIV.
at a World of Pains and Charge, find themselves miserably mistaken : And therefore without troubling ourselves about these dim Prognosticks, and depending upon the very weak and slender Conjectures, capable of being drawn from the Motions of Minds so very young, the best Course will be, to possess them with such Instructions as may be universally good, and in general Use at first; and when they are seasoned well with these, that will prove a most excellent Preparation for their taking to any particular Employment afterwards. Thus you build upon a sure Bottom, and perfect them presently in that which must be the constant, and daily Business of their Lives; and this first Tincture, like the Ground of a Picture, fits them for the receiving any other Colours.

To proceed now on to the matter its self, which may very conveniently be reduced to three Heads, the Forming of the Mind, managing the Body, and regulating of the Manners. But I must once more beg my Reader's Pardon for another Digression (if it deserve to be thought so) since, before I proceed to consider these Particulars, it seems to me highly expedient to lay down some general Rules relating to this Matter, which may direct us how to proceed with Discretion and Success.

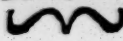
The first of these Directions is, to keep this little white Soul from the Contagion and Corruption so universal among Men, that it may contract no Blemish, no Taint at its first coming abroad into the World. In order hereunto, strict Centry must be kept at the Doors; I mean the Eyes, and especially the Ears, must be diligently guarded, that no unclean Thing get Admittance there. Now, this

BOOK III. is done by taking care of those that are about the Child, and not suffering any, even of his Relations, to come near him, whose Conversation is so lavish and dissolute, that we have Reason to fear they may convey any ill Idea's into him, though never so little, never so secretly: For one single Word, one distant Hint, is sufficient to do more Mischief in a Child than a great deal of Pains will be able to root out, or retrieve again. Upon this Account it was, that *Plato* would never endure that Children should be left to Servants, or entertained with their Stories: For if they talk nothing worse, yet the best we can expect from them is idle Tales, and ridiculous Fictions, which take such deep Root in this tender Soil, that I verily believe a very great Part of the vulgar Errors, and idle Prejudices most Men are possess'd with, is owing to the Giants and Hobgoblins, and the rest of that ridiculous Stuff which they were kept in awe, or diverted with, in their very Infancy.

10. The Second Direction concerns the Persons to be entrusted with this Child; what they are, what Discourse they have with him, what Books they put into his Hands. As to the Persons themselves, they should be Men of Honesty and Virtue, of a good Temper and winning Behaviour; Men whose Heads lie well, and eminent, rather for Wisdom than Learning. They must also keep a good Correspondence together, and perfectly understand each other's Method; for fear, while they take contrary Ways (as if one would gain upon his Charge by Fear, and another by Flattery) they should happen to cross and hinder one another, confound the Child, perplex the Design, and be perpetually doing and undoing. The Books and the Dis-

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1333

Discourse intended for his Entertainment, should by CHAP. XIV.
no Means be such as treat of mean and trifling, frivolous and idle Subjects, but great and serious, and noble; such as may help to enrich his Understanding, to direct his Opinions, to regulate his Manners and Affections. Such particularly as set before him human Nature as it really is; descry the secret Springs and inward Movements of the Soul, that so he may not mistake the World, but be well acquainted with himself and other People; such as may teach him which are the proper Objects of his Fear, and Love, and Desire; how he ought to be affected with regard to all external Things; what Passion, what Virtue is; and how he shall discern the Difference between Ambition and Avarice, between Servitude and Subjection, between Liberty and Licentiousness: And suffer not yourself to be diverted from such early Attempts, by a ridiculous Pretence of the Child's Incapacity for Matters of so important a Nature; for, assure yourself, he will swallow and digest these as easily as those of another and more ludicrous Kind. There is not one jot more of Capacity or Apprehension required to the Understanding all the illustrious Examples of *Valerius Maximus* than there is to the knowing the Feats of *Guy of Warwick*, or *Amadis of Gaul*. The Greek and Roman History, which is the noblest and most useful Learning in the World, is every whit as entertaining, as easy to be comprehended, as any Romance of the same Bulk. A Child that can tell how many Cocks and Hens run about his Mother's Yard, and can count and distinguish his Uncles and Cousins, what should hinder him from remembering with the same Ease, the seven Kings of *Rome*, and the twelve *Cæsars*? There is indeed a great Difference

BOOK. III. ference between several Sciences, and the Faculties of Children have their proper Seasons; but then this makes no Difference between the different Parts of the same Science and Exercises of the same Faculty; and no Man will ever be able to prove, that one Matter of Fact is easy, and another difficult or impossible to be attained; but especially, that the false and fictitious Inventions are accommodated to the Capacity of Children, and that true and serious Narratives are above, and unfit for them. This looks as if God had made our Minds only capable of being deceiv'd, and given them a strange Alacrity in Lies and Fables: But the Matter is much otherwise. For the main Business is, to manage the Capacity of a Child well, and if this be done, the Improvement will quickly shew the Vanity of trifling with Children, and distrusting their Abilities for greater and better things.

- II. The Third Admonition to this Purpose is, that these Tutors and Governors would behave themselves as becomes them towards their Charge, not putting on always solemn and austere Looks, or treating them with Harshness and Severity, but with Methods that are gentle and engaging, good Humour, and a chearful Countenance. I cannot here but condemn without more ado, that general Custom of beating, whipping, scolding and storming at Children, and keeping them in all that Terror and Subjection which is usual in some great Schools: For this is really a most unreasonable thing, of pernicious Consequence, and as indecent as it would be in a Judge to fall into violent Passions with Criminals at the Bar, or a Physician to fall foul upon his Patients, and call them all to nought. How prejudicial must this needs be in the Effect, how
contrary

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1335

contrary to the design of Education, which is, to CHAP. XIV.
make them in love with Virtue betimes, to sweeten their Tempers, and train them in Virtue and Knowledge, and Decency of Behaviour! Now, this imperious and rough Treatment gives them a Prejudice to Instructions, makes them hate, and be afraid of it; fills them with Horror, and Indignation, and Rage; tempts them to be desperate and head-strong; dampst their Spirits, and depreffes their Courage; till at last, by being used like Slaves, they degenerate entirely into cowardly and slavish Dispositions. The Holy Ghost himself hath given us fair Warning of this mischievous Consequence, when he commands by St. Paul, That Parents should not provoke their Children to Wrath, lest they be discouraged. Colof. iii. 21.

This is the ready way to make them good for nothing; they curse their Teacher, and hate the Government they are under. If they do what they are bidden, it is only because your Eye is upon them, and they dare not do otherwise; not with any Chearfulness or Satisfaction, or because they are acted by any noble and generous principle. If they have been tardy in their Duty, they take Sanctuary in the vilest Methods to save themselves from Punishment. Lies, and Equivocations, and shuffling Excuses, Trembling, and Tears of Madness, and Despair, playing Truant, and running away from School; all which are Refuges infinitely worse than the Fault they were guilty of before.

** He that's compell'd by Threats to do his Duty,
Will be wary no longer than you've an Eye over him;*

** Dum id rescitum iri credit, tantisper cavet;
Si sperat fore clam, rursus ad ingenium redit.
Ille, quem Beneficio adjungas, ex animo facit;
Studet par referre; præsens absensq; idem erit. Terent. Adelph.*

Q q q q 4

But

BOOK III. *But when he sees he shan't be found out,*



He'll even follow his own Inclinations;

*But he that's govern'd by Love, obeys most chearfully,
Strives to make due Returns, and is the same, present
or absent.*

12. Now, I would have Children us'd with greater Easiness and Freedom; bred as becomes Men and Gentlemen; argued into their Duty by fair and mild Remonstrances, and possess'd with Principles of Honour, and Modesty, and Shame to do amiss. The former of these Affections would prove a Spur and mighty Incitement to Goodness, and the latter a Curb and powerful Restraint, to disengage them from Vice, and work in them a just Abhorrence and Detestation of Evil. There seems to me to be somewhat so mean and servile in Severity and rigorous Constraint, that it can never be reconciled with Honour and true Freedom of Mind: We should therefore exalt rather, and enoble their Affections with Ingenuity of Temper and Behaviour, and the Love of Virtue, winning upon their Minds with setting before them its Desirableness, and displaying all its Charms and attracting Beauties.

** 'Twas always my Opinion, that 'tis much better
To keep Children in Order by Shame, and Generosity
Of Inclination, than by Fear —*

*This is a Father's Part to use his Child,
So as his own Choice, rather than Constraint,
Should put him upon doing well.*

** Pudore & Liberalitate Liberos retinere
Satiùs esse credo quàm metu. —
Hoc Patrium est, potius consuefacere filium,
Suâ Sponte rectè facere, quàm alieno metu.
Hoc Pater ac Dominus interest, hoc qui nequit,
Fateatur se nescire imperare Liberos.*

Here

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1337

*Here lies the Difference between a Father and a Master, ^{CHAP. XIV.}
And he that acts otherwise, let him confess,
That he understands not all the Art
Of managing Children.*

Blows are for Beasts, which are incapable of hearing Reason; and Rage, and Brawling, and contemptuous Usage, for none but Slaves. He that is once accustomed to these will come to very little. But Reason and Argument, the Gracefulness of the Action, the Imitation of excellent Men, the Honour and Respect, and universal Approbation that attend their doing well, the pleasing and generous Satisfaction of one's own Mind, which result from a Sense of having done so, and the Deference paid by others to such Persons and Actions; the Deformity of an ill thing, the Representations of its being unworthy and unbecoming, a Reproach and Affront to human Nature; the Shame and Scandal, the inward Upbraiding and Discontents, and the general Dislike and Aversion it draws upon us; how despicable and little it makes us appear, both in our own Eyes and the Esteem of the World: These are the defensive Arms against Vice; these the Spurs to Virtue, that influence and quicken up all Children of good Tempers, and such as give us any tolerable Hopes of making significant Men. These we shall do well to be perpetually ringing in their Ears; and if such Arts as these prove ineffectual, all the Methods of Rigour will do but little Good upon them. What cannot be compassed by dint of Reason, and Prudence, and Address, will either never be compassed by dint of Blow; or if it be, it will turn to very poor Account. But indeed there is no fear of Disappointment, if such Methods are taken in time,
and

BOOK III. and the Corruptions of Vice be not suffered to get
 beforehand with us : For these Notions are com-
 mensurate, and proper to the Soul, and the most
 natural that can possibly be, while it is preserved in
 its primitive Innocence and Purity. I would not be
 mistaken in all this, as if it were any part of my In-
 tention to countenance or commend that loose and
 effeminate Indulgence which admits of no Contra-
 diction, no Correction at all; but makes it a Princi-
 ple to let Children have their Humour in every
 thing, for fear of fretting, or putting them out of
 Temper. This is an Extreme every whit as extra-
 vagant, and as destructive as the other. Such Pa-
 rents are like the Ivy, that certainly kills the Tree
 encircled by it, or the Ape that hugs her Whelps
 to Death with meer Fondness. 'Tis as if when we
 see a Man drowning, we should stand by, and let
 him sink, for fear the pulling him out by the Hair
 of the Head should hurt him. Against this foolish
 Tenderness it is, that the wise Preacher inveighs so
 largely, and so smartly. *He that spareth the Rod,*
bateth his Son; but he that loveth him, chasteneth
him betimes. Chasten thy Son while there is hope, and
let not thy Soul spare for his crying. With-hold not
Correction from the Child; for if thou beatest him with
the Rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with
the Rod, and shalt deliver his Soul from Hell. An
Horse not broken becometh Head-strong, and a Child
left to himself will be wilful. Cocker thy Child, and
he shall make thee afraid. Bow down his Neck while
he is young, lest he wax stubborn, and bring Sorrow to
thine Heart. And all this Advice is very consistent
 with what I recommended before; for Youth must
 not be suffered to run wild, and grow lawless: They
 ought to be contained in Discipline and good Or-
 der;

Prov. xiii.

24.

—xix. 18.

—xxiii. 13,

14.

Eclus.

xxx. 8, 9,

—12.

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1339

der; but then this Discipline should be so tempered CHAP. XIV. and managed, as becomes a spiritual, human, and reasonable Discipline, and not fly out into Rage and Fury, as if we were dealing with Brutes who have no Sense, or with Madmen, who have lost their Senses, and must be banged into them again.

And now it may be seasonable for us to proceed 13. Advice for forming the Mind. in the Consideration of those Particulars mentioned lately, and the Rules for Instruction and Education suited to each of them. The first of these Particulars was said to consist in exercising, shapening and forming the Minds of young People: And here we might take Occasion to lay down a great Variety of Directions; but the First, and Chief, and indeed the fundamental Rule of all the rest (that which regards the Aim and End of all this painful Toil, and which I am the more concerned to press and inculcate, because it is very little observed, but by an epidemical and fatal Mistake, Men are generally fond of the quite contrary Course) this Rule, I say, which I would urge, and presume to be infinitely the most concerning and material of any, is, that Men would employ the greatest Part by much, and make it in a manner the whole of their Business and Study, to exercise, and improve, and exert, that which is our natural and particular Excellence; to brighten, and bring to light the Treasure hid in every Man's Breast, rather than to heap up, and make Ostentation of that which is a foreign Growth: To aim at Wisdom rather than Learning, and the quaint Subtilties of speculative Knowledge; to strengthen the Judgment, and consequently give the true Bent and Turn to the Will and the Conscience, rather than fill the Memory, and warm the Fancy: In a Word, that they would labour

Book III. labour to make the Persons committed to their Charge, prudent, honest, and good Men, and think this better Service, and infinitely higher Accomplishments, than the making them nice, florid, learned, or all that which the World calls fine Scholars, and fine Gentlemen. Of the three predominant Parts of the reasonable Soul, Judgment is the Chief, and most Valuable, as was shewn at

Book I.
Chap. 19. large in the Beginning of this Treatise, to which I refer my Reader : But almost all the World are of another Opinion, and run greedily after Art and acquired Learning. Parents are at an infinite Expence, and Children themselves at infinite Pains and Trouble to purchase a Stock of Knowledge; and yet *Tacitus's* Complaint may be ours at this Day, that the Excess of Learning is our Disease; and as it is in all other Excesses, the World is not the better, but the worse for it: For in the midst of all this fruitless Care and Charge, they are in little or no Concern for that which would come at a much easier Rate; the breeding them so that they may be prudent and honest, and fit for Business. Now, though this Fault may be so general, yet all are not guilty of it upon the same Principle. Some are blindly led away by Custom, and imagine, that Wisdom and Learning are either the same thing, or very near of Kin to one another; but to be sure, that they constantly go together, and that one of them cannot possibly be attained without the other. These Men are under an innocent Mistake, and deserve to have some Pains taken with them, for their better Information. Others are wilfully in the Wrong, and know well enough the Difference between these two: But still they must have artificial and acquired Knowledge, whatever it

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1341

it cost them. And indeed as the Case stands now CHAP. XIV. with our Western Parts of *Europe*, this is the only way to make a Noise in the World: Reputation and Riches are not to be got without it. So that the Persons we now speak of, make a Trade of Learning, and sink it into a mercenary, pedantick, sordid, mechanical thing: A Commodity bought dear, to be sold again dearer at second Hand. These Hucksters are past all Cure, and it is not worth while to give our selves any Trouble about them: Not but that our Men of Mode are, some of them, as extravagantly foolish in the other Extreme, who esteem Learning an ungentile thing, and somewhat too pedantick and mean for Quality, and esteem a Man the less for being a Scholar. This is but another Proof of their Folly and Emptiness, and want of all Sense of Virtue and Honour, which their Ignorance, Impertinence, sauntering Lives, and vain Fopperies, give us such abundant Demonstrations of every Day.

But now for the Instruction of those others that give us some Hopes of Recovery, and for the discovering where their Mistake lies, we must shew 14. Learning and Wisdom compared. two Things: First, That there is a real Difference between Learning and Wisdom; and that the latter is infinitely to be preferred before any the most exquisite and exalted Degree of the former. Secondly, That they do not always go together; nay, that most commonly they obstruct each other; in so much that your Men of nice Learning are not often eminent for Wisdom; nor your truly wise Men deeply learned. There are, I confess, some Exceptions to this last Observation, but it were heartily to be wished there were more of them. They that are so, are Men of great and noble Souls, of which
Antiquity

BOOK III. Antiquity furnishes some Instances, but the more modern Times are very barren of them.

15. In order to the doing this Argument right, we must first know what Learning and Wisdom are. Now, Learning is a vast Collection of other peoples Excellencies; a Stock laid in with Labour and long Trouble, of all that we have seen, and heard, and read in Books; the Sayings and Actions of great and good Men, who have lived in all Ages and Nations: The Repository, or Magazine, where this Provision is treasured up, is the Memory. He who is provided by Nature with a good Memory, hath no body to blame but himself, if he be not a Scholar; for he hath the Means in his own Hands. Wisdom is a calm and regular Government of the Soul: That Man is wise, who observes true Measures, and a due Decorum in his Thoughts, and Opinions, and Desires; his Words, and Actions, and Deportment. In short, Wisdom is the Rule and Standard of the Soul, and he that uses this Rule aright, that is, The Man of Judgment and Discretion, that sees, and discerns, judges and esteems Things according to their Nature and intrinsic Value, who places each in its just Order and Degree, is the Person we would have every one attempt to be: And how reasonable that Advice is, will quickly appear, by observing how far the greater Excellence of the Two this of Wisdom is.

16. Learning, however valuable in it self, is yet but a poor and barren Accomplishment, in comparison of Wisdom: For it is not only unnecessary, being what two Parts in three of Mankind make a very good Shift without; but the Usefulness of it is but small, and there are but a very few Instances (comparatively) to which that Usefulness extends. It

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1343

contributes nothing at all to Life; for how many CHAR. XIV.
do we see of all Qualities and Conditions, high and I.
low, rich and poor, that pass their Time in great
Ease and Pleasure, without knowing any thing at
all of the Matter? There are a great many other
Things more serviceable both to Mens private
Happiness, and to human Society in General. Ho-
nour, and Reputation, noble Birth, and Quality;
and yet even these are far from being absolutely ne-
cessary: The most they can pretend to, is the being
Ornaments, and Conveniencies, and additional Ad-
vantages. It contributes nothing to any natural II.
Operations; the most ignorant Man, in this respect,
is upon the Level with the greatest Clerk. For
Nature is of her self a sufficient Mistress, and deals III.
to every one the Knowledge needful for supporting
her own Occasions: Nor does it in any degree as-
sist a Man's Probity; no body is one whit the ho-
nester, or juster for it; rather indeed it hinders and
corrupts the Integrity of the Mind, by teaching
Men to be subtle, and to distinguish all Plain-deal-
ing quite another way. Look into the Characters of
excellent Persons in History, and you shall find most
amongst them of moderate and very indifferent At-
tainments. Witness old *Rome*, which, in the Days
of her Ignorance, was renowned for Justice and Ho-
nour; but when Learning and Eloquence got the
Ascendant, the Fame of her Virtue was in its De-
clension; and in Proportion as Mens Wits grew
more subtle and refin'd, Innocence and Simpli-
city fell into Decay and Contempt. Sects and He-
resies, Errors and Atheism it self have ever been set
on foot and propagated by Persons of Artifice and
Learning. The primitive Source of our Misery and
Ruine, and that first Temptation of the Devil which
inveigled

Book. III. inveigled and undid Mankind, was an unseasonable and intemperate Desire of Knowledge. *Ye shall be as Gods, discerning between Good and Evil*, was that fatal Expectation which deprest our first Parents, and made them less than Man. The more Men employed their Wits in Study, the more plausible, and consequently the more dangerous Notions they started; which made St. Paul bid his *Colossians Beware, that they were not seduced by Philosophy, and vain Deceit*. And one of the learnedest Men that ever liv'd, speaks but very meanly of it, as a thing vain and unprofitable, hurtful and troublesome, such as was never to be enjoyed without many grievous Incumbrances; since he *that increaseth Knowledge must unavoidably increase Sorrow* at the same time. In a Word, Learning, it is confessed, may civilize and refine us, but it cannot moralize us; we may be more courteous, and converfable, and accomplished, but we cannot be one jot the holier, the juster, more temperate, or more charitable for it. Nay, Fourthly, it does us no Service, neither in the sweetning of our Lives, or abating our Resentments, for any of the Afflictions that embitter them. It rather sets a sharper Edge upon our Calamities, and raises our Sense of them to be more quick and tender. Accordingly we see, that Children, and plain ignorant People (who measure their Misfortunes only by what they feel at present, and neither anticipate, nor give them an imaginary Being; nor revive, and as it were, raise them from the Dead again by melancholy Reflections) get over their Sufferings much more easily, and support themselves under them with much greater Temper and Moderation than your quaint, and refined, and more thinking Men. Ignorance is in some Degree
 2 a good

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1345

a good Remedy, a strong Amulet against Misfor-^{CHAP. XIV.} tunes; and our Friends (it is very manifest) are of that Opinion, when they beg of us to forget, and not to think of them: For what is this but to drive us hither for Shelter? I confess, such Advice is ridiculous, and a meer Jest; for Remembring and Forgetting, are not things in our own Disposal: And all we can contribute towards this, is not to torment ourselves industriously; not to awaken the sleeping Lion; and when such Reflections offer themselves, to soften and counterwork them, by Arguments for Patience and Contentedness; but here our Advisers play the Surgeon's Part, who when they cannot heal the Wound, assuage the Pain and skin over the Sore as well as they can. Those that have advised People to dispatch themselves, when their Sufferings are come to Extremity, and all Hope, all Possibility of Amendment gone, are directly of the same Mind: For what is Death but a State of Stupidity and Insensibility? And those who seek a Refuge here, acknowledge Ignorance to be their last, and most effectual Remedy.

But now, Wisdom is an Accomplishment of absolute Necessity, and universal Use; all things fall within the Verge of its Jurisdiction, and nothing can be exempted, or conceal'd from its Cognizance. It rules and sits supreme in War and in Peace; in publick and in private; nay, it presides over our Frolicks and Feasts, our Jollities and Recreations; for all these ought to be managed with Prudence, and Discretion, and Sobriety. And, where Wisdom does not interpose, all things run into Disorder and Confusion.

Secondly, Learning is servile, and mean, and mechanical, when put into the Balance with Wisdom;

R r r r

it

BOOK III. it is a borrowed Excellence, and borrowed with great Importunity too. A learned Man is like the Jay in the Fable, tricked up and made fine with the Feathers of other Birds: He sets himself off and entertains the World with his Reading; but this is like making a Feast at another Man's Cost; whereas the wise Man lives upon his Rents, and hath an inexhaustible Fund of his own: For Wisdom is a Man's proper Possession, an Inheritance settled upon him by Nature, but cultivated and made fertile by Art, and Industry, and Exercise.

18. *Thirdly*, The Qualities and Conditions of these two are vastly different; more graceful, more generous in the one than the other. Learning is usually proud and peevish, captious and cavilling, arrogant and presumptuous, peremptory and bold, quarrelsome and addicted to Disputes, ill-manner'd and indiscreet. Wisdom is modest and reserved, gentle and peaceable, free from a Spirit of Contradiction, and full of Respect. Again, Learning is commonly forward and affected, unreasonable and pretending, always thrusting itself in at every thing, and yet able to do nothing: For it consists not in Action, but in Talk. But Wisdom is full of Efficacy and Activity; it manages and governs every thing, and is never troublesome, or vain; never nauseous, or out of Time.

Thus it appears, that there is a mighty Difference between true Wisdom and acquired Knowledge; and how much the one is better and more valuable than the other. As much indeed, as a thing that is indispensably necessary, and of general Use, active and vigorous, and substantial, noble, and virtuous, and becoming, excels another which is serviceable but in some Cases, and absolutely necessary in none; impotent
and

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1347

and unactive, mechanick and mean, presumptuous CHAP. XIV.
and positive, stiff and humourfome, captious and
cavilling.

Let us now proceed to the other part of this Argument, which undertakes to prove, that these two do not always go together; nay, that they are generally found single and asunder. The Account of this, so far as Nature is concern'd in it, seems to be what hath been formerly explain'd at large; that the Temperaments of the Brain, which capacitate and dispose Men to these several Accomplishments, are distant and incomparable: For that where Memory excels, which qualifies Men for acquired Learning, is moist; and the other, where Wisdom is predominant and Judgment excels, is dry. This is also hinted to us, by what the Scripture mentions to have befallen our first Parents; for in the Instant that they fixed their Desires upon speculative Knowledge, Wisdom forsook them quite; and the Advantages of this kind, which were included in the original Perfection of human Nature, were withdrawn: And constant Experience shews us, that the Fate of their Successors is still in Proportion the same. The greatest and most flourishing Empires and Common-wealths, both antient and modern have been, and yet are govern'd by Wisdom, destitute of Scholarship, both in civil and military Affairs. *Rome* was as ignorant as any other Part of the World, for the first five hundred Years, and then was its Acme, both for Virtue and Valour. When Learning came in, Corruption and Vice, Factions and civil Wars entred with it. The most glorious Constitution the World ever saw, was that of the *Lacedemonians* founded by *Lycurgus*. The gallantest Men in Story were bred under it, and

R r r r 2

yet

Book III. yet they do not seem to have made any Pretension to Learning, or to express any great Esteem for it at that Time. This was the famous School for Virtue and Wisdom, and conquered *Athens*, the most refined City in the World, the Scene of Sciences, the Seat of the Muses, and Store-house of Philosophy. These Examples are notorious in antient Story. If we descend down to our own Times, all those large, wealthy and flourishing Kingdoms in the *East* and *West Indies*, lived very well, and wanted neither Grandeur nor Plenty; they never had Learning, nor did they ever feel the want of it: Nay, they were ignorant even of reading and writing, and the knowledge that they have now, hath been purchased at the Expence of their Liberty. Besides that, they have learnt to cheat, and to be vicious in the Bargain, and several wicked Arts, never so much as mention'd amongst them before. But indeed, where do we find an Empire, for Glory and Success, comparable to that of the *Grand Seignior*? He, like the Lion of the World, renders himself formidable to all his Neighbours, and is a Check and Terror to the Princes and Monarchs of the Earth: And yet in his whole Dominion, nothing reigns so universally, as profound Ignorance of Letters; no Professors of Sciences, no Schools, no Allowance to read for the publick Instruction of others; no, not even in Religion itself. What then hath contained this State in such excellent Order? What hath procur'd all its Successes? What indeed but Prudence, and Discipline, and Conduct? Turn your Eyes now, and observe those other Kingdoms where Learning hath been in Authority and Reputation: That of *France*, for Example, which seems to succeed *Athens* in all its Glory. The principal

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1349

principal Ministers of this Crown, the Constables CHAP. XIV. and Marshals, and Admirals, and Secretaries of State, through whose Hands all Business of Moment passes, are for the most part Persons of little or no acquired Learning. And we know that several eminent Law-givers, and Princes, and Founders of Commonwealths, have utterly banish'd all Studies of this Nature, as the Poison and Plague of a Nation; so did *Licinius*, and *Valentinian*, and *Mahomet*, and an antienter and better Man than all these, *Lycurgus*. This is a sufficient Proof, that there may be Wisdom where there is no acquired Learning. Let us next enquire, whether we can find Learning destitute of Wisdom; and the Instances of this Part are no less obvious, and numerous, than the other. Do but take notice of great Part of the Men who make Learning their Study and Profession, whose Heads are full of *Aristotle* and *Cicero*, the Philosophers, and the School-Men. Are there any People in the World more awkward and uncouth in Business? Is it not a common Proverb, when we see a Man odd and clumsy, to say, *He is a meer Scholar*? One would almost think, that they had pored away their Senses; and that Excess of Knowledge had stunned and stupified them. How many are there who would have made excellent Persons, had they not sunk and dwindled into Pedantry, and had been wiser Men, if they had traded upon their own natural Stock, and never sat down to Books at all? And how many of their own Brethren do we see, who never had that Education, and prove much shrewder Men, and better Contrivers, more quick and expert in all manner of Business? Take one of your nice Disputants, or quaint Rhetoricians, bring him into a Debate at the next Corporation, where

R r r r 3

any

BOOK III. any Matter of Government, or Civil Interest is under Deliberation; put him upon speaking to the Point, and he shall blush and tremble, turn pale, and cough, and hem: But it is odds, if he say any thing to the Purpose. At last, perhaps, you shall have a formal Harangue; some Definitions of *Aristotle*, or Quotations out of *Tully*, with an *Ergo* at the End of them: And yet at the same Meeting you shall have a dull, plodding Alderman that chalks up all his Accompts behind the Door, and can neither write nor read; and yet this Fellow, by seeing and knowing the World, shall out of his own Observation and Experience, come to better Resolutions, and propose more feasible and proper Expedients than the subtilest and most refined Student of them all. Were Matters indeed so managed, that Men turn'd their Speculation into Practice, and took care to apply their Reading to the Purposes of human Life, the Advantage of Learning would be unspeakable; and we see how illustriously such Persons shine in the World: And therefore what I have said upon this Occasion, is not to be stretched to the Prejudice of Learning in general, but only to such a false Opinion of it, as depends upon this alone for the most eligible, and only Qualification of the Mind of Man; and so rests upon it, and buries it in Inactivity. This the foregoing Instances shew is very frequently done, and a very vulgar Error; and consequently they prove the Point, for the Illustration of which alone they are produced; and that is, That this Distinction between Wisdom and Learning is not imaginary, but grounded upon a real Difference; and that in fact these two do not always go Hand in Hand, nor meet in the same Person.

This

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1351

This I design to make appear more fully in the following Paragraphs of this Chapter; for I have already promised, not to content my self with urging bare Matter of Fact, but likewise to enter into the Reason of the Thing. An Enquiry, which I am the more zealous, and look upon my self obliged to satisfy, that so I may prevent any Offence being taken at the former Reflection, and cut off any Suspicions which some might be provoked to entertain concerning me, as if I were an Enemy to Learning, and thought it insignificant and despicable. There is, I confess, Ground sufficient for this Question, why Wisdom and Learning should not go together? for it is a very odd Case, and seems foreign to the Reason of the thing, that a Man should not be very much the wiser for being a better Scholar, since Learning and Study is, without Controversy, the ready Road, and a most excellent Instrument and Preparation to Wisdom. Take any two Men, equal in all other Respects, let the one be a Man of Letters, the other not so, 'tis plain, he who hath employed his Time in Study, ought to be a great deal wiser than the other; and it will be expected from him, that he should prove so: For he hath all the Advantages that the illiterate Man hath; a natural Capacity, Reason and Understanding; and he hath a great deal more besides too; the additional Improvements of reading, which have furnished him with the Examples, Directions, Discourses, and Determinations, of the greatest Men that ever were in the World. Must not this Person then be wiser, more apprehensive and judicious, of a more exalted Virtue, and greater Address than the other who is altogether destitute of such Helps, since he hath the same Stock to set up with, and all these

BOOK III. foreign Assistances acquired, and transported to him from all the Quarters of the Universe besides? Since, as one says very truly, the natural Advantages, when joined and strengthened by the Accidental, make a noble and compleat Composition: And yet, in despite of all our Reasonings to the contrary, Experience, and undeniable Matter of Fact, give us Ten thousand Instances of it's being otherwise.

21. Now, the true Reason and satisfactory Answer to this Doubt, stands really thus: That the Methods of Instruction are not well ordered. Books and Places of publick Education furnish Men with admirable Matter; but they do not imbibe, and use it as they should do. Hence it is, that vast Improvements in Knowledge turn to so very slender Account: They are poor in the midst of Plenty, and like *Tantalus* in the Fable, starved with the Meat at their Mouths. When they apply themselves to reading, the Thing they principally aim at, is to learn Words more than Things; or at least, they content themselves with a very slight and superficial Knowledge of Things; and he is reputed the best Scholar who hath made the largest Collections, and crammed his Memory fullest. Thus they are learned, but not with any Care of polishing their Minds, and forming their Judgments, or growing practically wise: Like a Man that puts his Bread in his Pocket, and not in his Stomach; and if he go on thus, he may be famished for want of Sustenance, notwithstanding both Pockets are full. Thus they continue Fools, with a vast Treasure of Wisdom in their Brains. They study for Entertainment, or Ostentation, or Gain, or Applause, and not for their own true Benefit, and the becoming useful to the World. They are living Repertories and Common-place Books, and would be

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1353

be rare Compilers of Precedents and Reports. *Cicero*, CHAP. XIV. they tell you, or *Aristotle*, or *Plato* says thus and thus; but all this while, they say not one Tittle of their own Observation. They are guilty of two great Faults: One is, that they do not apply what they read to themselves, nor make it their own by Meditation, Reflection, and Use: So that all this while they have not advanced one Step in Virtue, nor are one whit more prudent, more resolute and confirmed in Goodness; and thus their Scholarship is never digested and incorporated with the Soul, but swims and floats about in the Brain, and consequently can never nourish, or do them any manner of good. The other is, that in all this Time and Trouble, so diligently spent in heaping together the Wealth of other Men, they neglect their own proper and natural Fund, and let this lie dead, and rust upon their Hands, for want of Exercise. Now others, who are not capable of Study, have nothing but their own common Sense and Reason to be intent upon, and therefore they must keep it in constant Employment. They manure and cultivate their little Plat of Ground, and reap a Crop in proportion to their Diligence; grow better and wiser, more resolute and steady, though not so knowing, or so eloquent, so wealthy, or so celebrated in the World. The whole of which Observation may be reduced to that short Maxim of an Author to this Purpose; *That weak and little Souls are spoiled by Learning, but vigorous and great ones are perfected by it.* The former are diverted by it from Matters more weighty and substantial; the latter make it only subservient to such, and transcribe it all into their own Practice.

Now, the Method which I would prescribe for reforming this unprofitable and superficial way of
I Study,

BOOK III. Study, is as follows : Not to trouble our Heads, and waste our Time in retaining and treasuring up other Mens Knowledge, only that we may be able to repeat and quote it, and make a Shew and Noise with it in Company; or else to convert it to Gain, and so employ it to sordid and mercenary Purposes; but to enrich our Minds in good Earnest, by making other Mens Notions our own; nor barely to give them Lodging and Entertainment in our Souls, and use them like Guests, but to incorporate and transubstantiate them : Not only to sprinkle the Mind with them, but thoroughly to soak, and drench it, that the Tincture may be taken all over, and we may become effectually wise, and good, and generous and brave; for if this be not done, what is all our Study good for? * *We must not only get Wisdom, but we must use and enjoy it*, if we will do any thing to the Purpose. We must not do like the Gatherers of Nofegays, that pick up here and there whole Flowers, and after that make them up into Nofegays to sell or give away; for thus unskilful Students do; they get together a Collection of good Sayings and Observations out of the Books they have read, meerly for the Sake of Ostentation, and to put them off in all Company where they come: But we must imitate the Bees, that never take away the Flower entire, but sit and brood upon it, suck out the Life, and Spirit and Quintessence, and convert it into their own Substance and Nourishment; and when this is done, they do not render it back again in Thyme and Marjoram, as they drew it in, but distil it into most delicious and excellent Honey. Just after the same Manner, we are not obliged to put our selves under the Slavery of getting things

* Non paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda sapientia est.

by

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1355

by Heart, and saying them again' by Rote (which ^{CHAP. XIV.} some value themselves upon) nor need we tie up our Attention to that superstitious Vanity of others, that of remembring precisely the very Passage, and Page, and Chapter (all which devours our Time, and our Pains, and is bought very dear, with the Loss of that which our Minds should principally aim at) but we should draw out the Marrow and Substance of our Authors, feed and feast our Thoughts upon them, deduce Inferences, and form the Judgment, and give the Soul quite another Turn: We should bring all home, and lay it close to our Hearts, that it may be entirely of a Piece with us, instruct our Understandings, regulate our Affections, direct and encline our Wills, and guide our Consciences in all their practical Determinations and Debates. In a Word, the Principles of Honesty and Wisdom, and Prudence, and Perseverance, which we meet with scattered up and down in Books, we are to collect into one entire Body, and out of that, make an honest, wise, prudent, and well-resolved Man. So says *Tacitus* upon a like Occasion, * *Our Intention must not be Pomp, and shew the Credit of Reputation of being Book-learned, but the fitting our selves for Action and Business, and fortifying our Minds against any Accidents that may happen to us.*

In order hereunto, there must be Care used, that a proper and prudent Choice be made of the Sciences young People apply their Studies to. Now those which I dare take upon me to recommend, because they manifestly conduce most of any to that sort of Study which I have here been propounding, are natural and moral Philosophy; for these teach us

* Non ad pompam, nec ad speciem, nec ut nomine magnifico sequi otium velis, sed quò firmior adversus fortuita Rempublicam capeñas.

what

BOOK III. what it is to live, and what to live well; and entertain us with the Images and Beauties both of Nature, and of Virtue; shew us what we are, and what we ought to be. Under the Heads of Morality I comprehend Politicks, Oeconomicks, and History, as well as that which is more peculiarly called Ethicks. All other Studies are in a manner Emptiness and Air, Diversions to recreate the Mind, but not of Weight enough to make them our Business: And therefore we should take a little of them by the by; but these we may fix and dwell upon, because they will not fail to stick by us, and amply to reward our Pains.

24. This end, to which the Instruction of young People should be directed, and the stating our Comparison between Wisdom and acquired Learning, hath detained us a very great while, by reason of the Controversies arising upon it. Let us now at length prosecute the other Parts of this Subject, and come to those Directions which still remain behind. Now, the Manner of either informing one's self, or instructing others, is very various: For first, there are two Ways of Learning, the one Verbal; that is, by Precepts, Instructions, and Lessons read, or heard, or explained to us; or else by Conference and Discourse with able and good Men, thus polishing and whetting our Minds upon theirs, as Iron is brightened, and cleansed, and sharpened by the File. This is a very agreeable, and pleasant, and natural Course.

25. The other Method of Instruction is by Facts: This is what we call Example, and a mighty Advantage may be made of it, not only with regard to those good and commendable ones, which we shall do well carefully to copy, and conform our selves to, but to those likewise that are ill; such as we are

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1357

are obliged to avoid and detest, and suffer no manner of Resemblance, or Agreement with. Some Dispositions are so formed, that they improve abundantly more by this kind of Instruction taken from Contraries, and are much more dextrous at Declining than Imitating. This is particularly the Method which publick Justice takes with us; it condemns one Malefactor, that he may be a Warning, and create Horror in others : And *Cato* the Elder used to say, that *Wise Men might learn a great deal more from Fools than Fools could from Wise Men.* The *Lacedemonians*, to work in their Children an Abhorrence of Drunkenness, and draw them off from this beastly Vice effectually, made their Slaves drunk, that so this odious and ridiculous Spectacle might leave lasting Impressions behind it. Now, this Second Way of Learning by Example, is infinitely the easier, and more entertaining of the two. To learn by Precepts is a long and tedious Journey, and carries us a great way about, because it costs us Time and Pains to understand them, and fresh Labour to remember what we do understand ; and, after all this, the greatest and most difficult Part of our Business, is to be ready and punctual in the Practice of what we do remember. So that we cannot easily assure our selves of reaping the Fruit, which is, and ought to be propounded as the Recompence of our Studies in this kind. But now Example and Imitation comes home to us presently, and does the Work at once; it draws us on with greater Eagerness and Zeal; it fires us with a noble Emulation of our Patterns, and encourages us with a Prospect of the same Reputation and Advantage which those good and great Men have already attained to by their shining Virtues. All Seeds do
by

BOOK III. by Degrees conform to the Quality of the Soil into which they are transplanted, and carry the Relish of that which is the natural Growth of the Place. And thus the Minds and Manners of Men are assimilated and transformed into the Dispositions and Habits of the Persons whose Actions they contemplate, and whose Company they frequent: For there is an universal Contagion in Nature, and one thing is daily more and more changed, and drawn into a nearer Resemblance of another.

26. Now, these Methods of Improvement, both by verbal Precepts, and by Examples, are capable of a farther Distinction: For they are deduc'd and drawn into Practice from excellent Persons, who are either now living, by the benefit of Conversation, and mutual Conference, or sensible Observation; or else from such as are already dead, by reading of Books, and such Accounts, as History delivers to us concerning them.

The former, of holding a Correspondence with the Living, is the more lively, and vigorous, and natural. This indeed is a very profitable Exercise, much in request among the Antients, and especially in *Greece*; but then it is accidental and uncertain, it depends upon another, and you cannot always enjoy it when you would. It is also difficult and rare, for a Man cannot every where meet with Persons proper for it, and less yet can he enjoy them sufficiently to improve by. This again is capable of being practis'd either about Home or at a greater Distance, by travelling and visiting foreign Countries; and that is an Advantage I confess very considerable, provided a Man make the most of it: For the End of Travelling, is not to entertain ourselves with fine Sight, or to bring back an

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1359

an Account of the Buildings, or Grottos, or Foun-^{CHAP. XIV.}
tains we see abroad; but to study the Natives, and
observe their different Humours, and manner of
Living, their Vices and Virtues, their Laws and
Customs, their private Conduct, and publick Con-
stitutions. This is a most agreeable, and a most pro-
fitable Way of Education in all Respects: It con-
tributes much to Health, by keeping the Body in
Motion and moderate Exercise, a due Medium be-
tween Idleness and Fatigue; and it keeps the Mind
in continual Employment too, by presenting new
and strange Objects to it every Day, and provok-
ing it to proper Observations and Reflections from
them; and particularly to the drawing Compari-
sons between these fresh and foreign Matters, and
what we had seen and were acquainted with before:
And indeed there is no better School of Life in the
World than the seeing continually so many dif-
ferent Tempers and Ways of living; contemplating
the Beauty of Nature in all her different Forms, and
out of all these, to pick and cull that which may
compleat and adorn our own Conversation.

The other Sort of Correspondence is kept up with ²⁷⁶
the Dead by the Help of Books; and this is more
sure and constant to us. We have it in our own
Disposal, and can go into this Company when we
will; and besides, it is more suitable to the Circum-
stances of most Men, because the Trouble and Ex-
pence is much easier than in the former Case. They
who know how to make a good Use of this, may
reap infinite Advantage and Satisfaction from it. It
discharges us from the Burden of a troublesome
Idleness; fills up the void Spaces of Leisure, and
leaves no Room for any Complaint of Time hang-
ing upon our Hands; it draws us from the vain and
tormenting

BOOK III. tormenting Imaginations of a roving Mind, and diverts the Uneasiness of any Affairs or Accidents from without, which are apt to distract and perplex our Thoughts when they find us out of Business, and at Liberty to attend them: It is a powerful Preservative against Vice; not only by the Force of the Arguments and Instructions it furnishes us with, to oppose and subdue it, but by keeping us out of Harm's Way, and at a distance from the Temptation: It ministers Comfort and marvellous Relief in our Calamities and Sufferings; but then it must be acknowledged withal, that it only contributes to the Health and good Constitution of the Mind; for this is a sedentary Life, it keeps the Body out of Exercise; and, if pursued with great Vehemence and constant Application, wastes its Strength, impairs its Vigour and Complexion, and disposes it to Melancholy, and Diseases.

28.
*Putting
our Scho-
lars upon
Discourse.* The next thing to be done is to give some Directions concerning a Tutor's Method, and the Forms of Instruction, which it will be proper for him to observe, in order to the making his Care successful. This Head consists of several Parts. The *First* Advice I shall give upon it is, that he would frequently confer with his Charge; ask him Questions, and put him upon giving his own Opinion, upon every fresh Occasion or Object that offers it self to his Consideration. This I am afraid is but too opposite to the manner of proceeding generally in Use; the Master talks all, and teaches his Children in a dogmatical Way, thus pouring his own Notions into their Heads like Water into a Vessel; so that they in the mean while have nothing to do but to keep their Ears open, and are purely passive in the whole Matter: This is certainly a very ill Custom

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1361

Custom. **The Authority of the Teacher, and his taking so much upon himself, is a common and a mighty Hindrance to the Improvement even of the most diligent Scholars:* Their Apprehensions should be awakened and warmed by starting of Doubts, and requiring an Account of what we have infused into them; and they should likewise be indulged in the same Liberty of asking us Questions, and putting Cases, informing themselves, and opening their own Way. If we never allow them to come in for a Share of the Discourse, all we say to them will be to little purpose: Our Scholar only gives us the Hearing, and that sometimes but coldly and negligently neither; but as to any Application or Improvement, he troubles not himself, nor is at all zealous about it; because this is a Matter which he is not called upon for, nor concern'd to bear a Part in the Conversation. Nor is it enough in this Case, that we make them deliver their Opinions, except we moreover require them to alledge their Reasons, and oblige them to argue in Defence of it: For this is the Way to prevent their talking without Book, and by Rote; this will make them heedful and attentive, cautious of what they say, and considerate before they speak; and for their better Encouragement to confer with us freely, we must commend, and make the best of what they say; and where the Performance falls short, we must accept the Endeavour very graciously. This Method of Instruction by way of Questions, was admirably put in practice by *Socrates*, who was indeed the greatest Master in it of all the Philosophers; and we see all along in *Plato*, by what a Chain and mutual Con-

* Obest plerumq; iis, qui discere volunt, Autoritas eorum qui docent.

BOOK III. nexion of Enquiries, he led Men gently up to the Truth, and by insensible Degrees gain'd his Point upon the Objectors. But indeed a much greater than *Socrates* hath set us a Pattern in it; even our Blessed Lord, who, with inimitable Prudence, appealed to Mens own Sense and Judgment; and as he sometimes taught his Disciples, so did he at others confute his Adversaries out of their own Mouths. Now these Questions and Conferences need not always be confin'd to such Subjects, as the Attainments of Memory, or Fancy, or what we call acquired Knowledge are concern'd in, but may (indeed they ought much rather to) be extended to such as are Trials of the Judgment and sound Sense. So that no sort of Subjects will be excluded; for all, even the least and most inconsiderable, are capable of being employed to very good Purpose: The Negligence of a Servant, the Folly of a Child, the Moroseness and Ill-nature of a Clown, the Sports or Plays of Boys, the Talk at Table; for the Excellency and Business of Judgment does by no means consist in the Management or Determination of weighty or sublime Matters only, but in passing a true and right Decision, and setting a just Value upon all manner of Things be they great or small, trivial or important: It is not the Condition of the Subject, but the Truth and Pertinency of what is resolved, and said upon it, that proves the Person to be judicious. It will be very convenient therefore to let him deliver his Opinion of Men and Actions; but, to be sure, always to say somewhat in Justification of his Opinion; and to let nothing pass without some Reflection, and the Inducements which move him to think thus, rather than otherwise: For this will have a wonderful Influence in the directing

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1363

CHAP. XIV.

recting his Conscience, and practical Judgment; which is of all other Faculties most necessary to be cultivated and set right; because, if this happen to go amiss, all our Actions which result from its Determination, must consequently be irregular. *Cyrus's* Tutor in *Xenophon* took this Course, and propounded the following Matter of Fact for an Exercise and Lesson to his Pupil. A great Boy having a short Coat, gave it to one of his Play-fellows, who was less than himself, and took away his Coat in Exchange, which was larger, and too big for the right Owner: Now, the thing required of *Cyrus* was to deliver his Judgment upon this Matter. *Cyrus's* Opinion was, that the Matter was very well ordered, and much better than before; for now both the Boys were fitted to their Turn, whereas, till that Exchange was made, neither of them was so. His Tutor rebuked him very sharply for so rash and unjust a Judgment; for that he had only considered the Convenience of the thing, and not the Right and Merits of the Cause; since Justice is of so much greater Consequence, that the other ought not to be put into the Balance with it; nor must a Man's Property be invaded, upon the Pretence of giving somewhat that is fitter for his Circumstances in the stead of it. This now is an excellent Way of informing them. Again, when they repeat or quote any thing out of their Books, as *Cicero*, or *Aristotle*, or the like, this Task should be imposed, not meerly for the sake of retaining it in their Memories, but to fasten it in their Minds, and give them a true Taste of it, and enable them to judge of it themselves. And, in order to this, he should take it under all its different Appearances, turn and examine it every way, and be taught to apply it to several Subjects.

S f f f 2

It

BOOK III. It would be a matter of very small Consequence for a Youth to tell a Story of *Cato's* killing himself, for fear of falling into the Hands of *Cæsar*; or how *Brutus* and *Cassius* engaged in the taking *Cæsar* off; this is the least Part of the Improvement such historical Narrations are capable of furnishing. The main Point is, to call these Men before him, to arraign, and try, and sentence them for these Actions, whether they did well or ill; whether they consulted the publick Good, and behaved themselves like true Patriots; what Prudence and Justice, and Courage there was in these Instances; and wherein these Excellencies exerted, or their contrary Qualities betrayed themselves. Lastly, In all the Questions and Conferences, he ought to take care that his Charge proceed according to Truth; that he be taught to express himself properly, and pertinently; to reason justly, and to exercise his practical Judgment of Things; which is an Excellence and Accomplishment infinitely to be preferred before any the nicest Subtilties of the most refined speculative Knowledge. And in such Exercises as these, no Doubt should be left unsatisfied; no Point suffered to pass off imperfectly discuss'd; no Connivance given to lame and superficial Accounts of Things, the little Shiftings of an Argument, or the calling of another Cause; but the Scholar must be prest home, carried to the Bottom of all that is propounded, kept close to the Matter in Hand; that so he may be a perfect Master of what he undertakes, and have solid and substantial Grounds for the Opinions he entertains.

29.

Secondly, He ought to train his Pupil up to a becoming Curiosity, and a Desire to know every thing his Condition is capable of; that so he may always have

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1365

CHAP. XIV.

have his Mind intent, and his Wits about him; applying himself to weigh and consider critically all that is said or done in his Company, taking nothing at first View, without Reflection, and a second Examination of it privately in his own Thoughts; and not only so, but with Modesty and Temper to inform himself, and consult others, in Matters both of Right and of Fact. It is a common Proverb, *That he who never asks Questions, will never be a wise Man*; that is, if a Man's Mind be not kept stirring, it will rust and mould, and nothing but constant Use and Exercise can cleanse and brighten it. Now, whatever of this Kind falls under his Consideration, should be managed to the best Advantage; applied and brought home to himself; discoursed and advised upon with others; and that, whether it be somewhat already past, to discover what Defects there were, and which were the false Steps in it; or whether it be somewhat future, that he may govern himself regularly; be warned of any Hazards and Dangers that attend what he goes about; and prevent Miscarriages and Inconveniencies, by growing wise in Time. Children should never be left to their own idle Fancies, to dare and trifle alone; for their Age and Capacity, not being of it self able to furnish noble Matter of Thought, will certainly dwindle into Vanity, and feed upon Impertinencies and Whimsies of a Size with their Imaginations. They should therefore be kept in constant Employment, to exercise and give them a manly Way of thinking; and particularly to beget and excite this inquisitive Humour, an eager Appetite of Knowledge, which will be sure to keep their Souls always awake and busy, and by inspiring them with a noble Emulation, be eternally putting forward to fresh

S f f f 3

and

Book. III. and larger Attainments. And this Curiosity, if qualified, as I have here described it, will neither be vain and fruitless in it self, nor troublesome or unmannerly to any they converse with.

30. *Thirdly*, Another necessary Care in the instructing of Children is, to frame and mould their Minds after the Model of universal Nature, taking the World at large for our Pattern; to make the Universe their Book, and whatever Subject lies before them, to draw it in full Proportion, and represent the several Opinions and Customs, which do, or ever have prevailed with regard to it. The greatest and most excellent Persons have always had the freest and most enlarged Souls: For this indeed strengthens and confirms the Mind, delivers it from Wonder and Surprise, and fixes it in Reason and Resolution, which is the highest Point of Wisdom. This Particular, and the Benefits of it, as well as the Absurdity and great Uneasinesses of the contrary, hath been so largely insisted upon heretofore, that I shall omit what might be said more upon it here; adding only this Observation, that such a large and universal Spirit must be the Business and Acquest of early Application and Diligence in the Master, before the Prepossessions of his native Country and Customs have taken too fast hold upon his Scholar; and when he is ripe for Travelling and Conversation, that which will contribute most to the perfecting him in this Disposition, is going abroad; conferring much with Foreigners; or, if that cannot be, yet informing himself at home, by reading such Books as give Account of Travels into remote Parts of the World, and contain the Histories of all Nations.

31. *Lastly*, Children ought to be taught betimes not to swallow things at a venture, nor receive any
Opinions

See Book
II. Ch. 2.

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1367

Opinions upon Trust, and the bare Authority of the Person who delivers them; but to seek and expect all the Evidence that can be had, before they yield their Assent. The contrary Easiness of Mind is to suffer one's self to be led about hood-wink'd; to renounce the Use of Reason quite, and submit to the Condition of Brutes, whose Business is only to know their Driver, and go as they are directed. Let every thing therefore be fairly propounded; let the Arguments on each Side be stated, and set in their true Light, and then let him choose, as Judgment shall determine him. If he be at a Loss which Side he should incline to, let him deliberate longer, and doubt on: Such a Distrust and Uncertainty of Mind is an excellent Sign; more safe, more promising than a rash Confidence, which resolves right or wrong, and thinks it self always sure, though it can give no Reason why. The Perplexities and Dilemma's of a cautious and considerate Person, are much to be preferred before even the true Determinations that are made in a Heat, and by Chance. But then, as the Youth should be taught always to practise upon his own Judgment, so should he learn likewise to have a modest Diffidence of his Abilities; and when any Difficulty interposes, or the Resolution is of great Consequence, to consult those who are proper to be advised with, and never venture to come to a peremptory Determination, meerly upon the Strength of his own reasoning: For, as the being able to examine and compare things is one Argument of Sufficiency, so is the calling in Help another; and the refusing to rest upon one's own single Opinion is no Reflection upon our Wisdom, no Disparagement to what we think alone, but rather the quite contrary.

Book III. Next after the Soul of Children, Parents are
 32.
Advice for obliged to take care of their Bodies; and this is not
the Body. to be deferred any more than the other. It hath no
 distinct and separate Seasons, but must go along with
 the former; and only differs in this, that though we
 ought to express a constant Care and Concern for
 both, yet we are not obliged to have that Concern
 equal for both. But, since Nature hath united these
 two into one and the same Person, we must con-
 tribute to the Good of each by our joint Endeavours.
 Now, the Care of the Body will be most profita-
 bly express'd, not in the indulging its Appetites, or
 treating it tenderly (as the generality of those who
 pretend to refined Education do) but by utterly
 abandoning all Softness and effeminate Nicety in
 Cloaths and Lodging, Meat and Drink; to give it
 plain and hearty Nourishment; a simple and whole-
 some Diet; considering the Convenience of Health
 and Digestion, more than the Pleasures and Deli-
 cacy of the Palate: To support it in a Condition
 of Strength, capable of supporting Labour and
 Hardship; and accordingly inure it to Heat and
 Cold, Wind and Weather; that so the Muscles
 and Nerves, as well as the Soul, may be forti-
 fied for Toil; and by that, for Pain; for the
 Custom of the former hardens us against the lat-
 ter: In a Word, to keep the Body vigorous and
 fresh, and the Appetite and Constitution indiffe-
 rent to all sorts of Meats and Tastes: For the se-
 veral Parts of this Advice are by no means so
 insignificant as they may seem. It were enough
 to say, that they conduce mightily to the pre-
 serving and confirming our Health; but that is
 not all, for the Benefit extends beyond our own
 Persons, and the Publick is the better for them,

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1369

as they enable and qualify Men for the enduring Fa-
tigues, and so fit them for Business, and the Service
of their Country.

It is now time to apply our selves to the *Third* ^{33.} *Directions*
Branch of this Duty, which contains a Parent's *for Man-*
Care of his Childrens Manners; in which Soul *ners.*
and Body both are very high'y concerned. Now,
this Care consists of two Parts; the preventing ill
Habits, and cultivating good ones: The former is
the more necessary, and requires the more diligent
Attention of the two. And this is a Business which
ought to be begun very early indeed; a Man can
hardly set about it too soon; for vicious Disposi-
tions grow into Habits apace; so that the Corrupti-
on of Nature is sure to be beforehand with us; and
if these things be not stifled in the Birth, it is very
difficult dealing with them afterwards. I suppose
I need not say, that this Endeavour ought to be
universal, and bend it self against all Vice without
Exception: But some there are, which I shall men-
tion, and recommend the subduing of more espe-
cially, because they are more incident to that Con-
dition of Life, and therefore more formidable than
the rest.

The First is Lying, a pitiful poor-spirited Vice;
the Character of Slaves and Cowards, the most un-
genteel Quality that can be, and certain Indication
of a base, degenerate, and timorous Soul; but more
particularly fit to be cautioned against in this Place,
because harsh Methods and rigorous Severities in
the Education of Children, very often fright them
into it at first, and lay the Seeds of Fear and Fals-
hood for their whole Lives.

The Second is an aukward Bashfulness, which
puts them upon hiding their Faces, hanging down
their

BOOK III.  their Heads, blushing and looking out of Countenance when they are spoken to ; makes them incapable of bearing any sort of Correction, or the least angry Word, without being disordered, and put quite out of Humour. A great deal of this is owing to the natural Weakness and Tenderness of their Minds ; but this Infirmary must be corrected by Study and Application ; by learning them to bear Admonition and Rebukes, using them to see Company, and fortifying them with a becoming Assurance and Presence of Mind.

Thirdly, All Affectation and Singularity in their Dress, their Mien, their Gait, their Gestures, their Speech, and every other Part of Behaviour ; making their Deportment and Conversation masculine and free, easy and unconstrained : For Affectation is a sure Sign of Vanity, and inordinate Desire of recommending themselves, by doing somewhat particular, and out of the common Road, and is extremely nauseous and offensive to all Companies ; it displeases even where it labours to oblige, and casts a Blemish upon our best Actions and kindest Intentions. * *A Man may be wise without Ostentation ; and should labour to be so, without giving Prejudice or Offence.*

But especially they must check and utterly banish all Anger, and Peevishness, and Spite, and Obstinacy. And in order hereunto, it will be a good Rule to settle a Resolution never to gratify Children when they are froward, nor give them any thing they cry and are outrageous for. To make them sensible betimes, that these Arts will never do them Service, and are therefore unprofitable as well as unbecoming, another necessary Course to

* *Licet sapere sine pompâ sine invidiâ.*

this

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1371

this purpose will be, never to flatter, or wheedle, CHAP. XIV.
or caress them in their querulous Humours; for Fondness and Indulgence, which is blameable at all times, is of most dangerous Consequence at such times as these: This absolutely ruins them to all Intent and Purposes, encourages them to be passionate and sullen, if they have not what they ask for, and renders them at length obstinate and headstrong, intractable and insolent. For ** nothing disposes Men more to extravagant Passion and Resentment, than the being humoured and cockered in their Infancy*; and the greatest part of those fretful, exceptionous, and self-conceited Qualities, which render Conversation so difficult, and so full of Cavils, as we find it, are owing most certainly to a Failure in this part of Education. The Niceness and Tenderness they have been used with in their Infancy, and the unreasonable Compliances with their Passions then, have absolutely broke their Tempers, and make them whimsical and jealous, furious and domineering all their Life-long; they expect, because Mothers and Nurses have done it to my young Master and Miss, that all the World shou'd submit to their Humours when they come to be Men and Women.

But it is not sufficient to clear the Soil of Weeds and Briars, except you sow it with good Seed; and therefore at the same time you root out ill Habits, Care must be taken to implant good ones: The first and most important part whereof is, to infuse into them, and take care they be thoroughly seasoned with a becoming Reverence, and awful Fear of God; learning them to tremble at his infinite

* Nihil magis reddet Iracundos, quam Educatio mollis & blanda.

and

BOOK. III. and incomprehensible Majesty; to admire and adore the Perfection of his Holiness; to take his Name into their Mouths but very seldom; and when they do, to mention it with Gravity and great Respect; to discourse of his Power, his Wisdom, his eternal Essence, his Will, his Word, and his Works, not indifferent, and upon every Occasion, but with such Seriousness and Submission, such Modesty and Humility; and at Seasons so proper, that all the World may perceive we have due Dread, and a constant Awe of that Being, which we take care to treat so very respectfully. Not to use themselves to dispute upon Religion, or call the Mysteries of it into question; but resign their Understandings to the Oracles of God, and be content to believe the Scriptures, in such a Sense as the truly Catholick Church hath embraced, and commanded to be taught and received.

In the second Place, the Spirit of Children should be strengthened and confirmed by ingenuity and frankness of Temper, openness and easiness of Conversation, Candor and Integrity; and especially they shou'd be fixed in the fitness and the necessity of Virtue, and so made resolute and zealous in Justice and Goodness, deaf and inflexible to every thing which is vicious and dishonourable. Thus the Youth must by degrees be brought to embrace and stick to Virtue, upon a true and solid Principle, for its own sake, and real Excellence, and exact Congruity to the Dictates of uncorrupt Reason; and not be induced meerly by the force of Fear, or Interest, or some other Consideration so slavish and mercenary, that it cannot deserve a Name so noble as Virtue. These two Directions are principally for a
Man's

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1373

Man's private Use, and centre in his own proper Benefit. CHAP. XIV.

The Third regards other People, and hath a more immediate tendency to fit him for, and render him easy and agreeable in Company. And to this purpose you must use all means possible, for the sweetening his Temper, teach him Rules of Civility and Complaisance, and shew him the Deference that ought to be paid to all Qualities; let him know how to make himself acceptable; how far it is fit to accommodate himself to other People's Humours, and submit to their Manners. *Alcibiades's* peculiar Excellence was said to lie in this obliging easiness of Humour: And *Aristippus* was a Man of perfect Address; so far from Moroseness, or suffering the Study of Philosophy to sowre him, that *Horace* takes notice of him as a Person so *debonnaire* and well-fashioned, that every thing he did became him, and he was never at a Loss. 3.

* *All Fortune fitted Aristippus well,
Aiming at greater, pleas'd with what besel.* Creech.

Let your young Charge be so much a Master of Conversation, as to be capable of keeping all manner of Company; but let him choose and frequent none but such as are virtuous and good. Let him abstain from Vice, not upon Compulsion only, out of Fear, or Ignorance, but out of Inclination and Choice: For † *there is a great deal of difference between refusing to be wicked, and not daring, or not knowing how to be so.*

The fourth Virtue I desire to have early ingrafted into the Minds of young People, is Modesty: 34.
Book II.
Chap. 9.

* *Omnes Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res, &c.*
Hor. Ep. xvii.

† *Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat*
This

BOOK III. This will preserve them from that Forwardness which puts them upon Contradiction and Dispute, and attacking all they come near. With some Persons it is never proper for us to engage at all; as those particularly, whose Quality is much above, or very much below our own; whether the Difference lie in Birth, or Riches, or Honour, or Parts, or Characters; these can never be a fit Match for us at any time. But indeed, those that are so, shou'd not be encountered at all Times, nor upon all Occasions; not for a trifling Circumstance, an improper Expression: In short, what is of little Moment in it self, or little or no Concern to us, will not justify our wrangling for it. To let nothing go without putting in an Exception to it, is ill-mannered, impertinent, and troublesome: But even in those things that are worth a Dispute, to be opinionative and peremptory, warm and violent, clamorous and loud, is as much a Breach of this Virtue; for Modesty teaches Men to be meek and gentle, moderate and condescending: It cannot be reconciled with a positive dogmatical way of Talk, with an abounding in our own Sense, and a Resolution not to be convinced: But it yields the Point when it is no longer defensible; and, as it never disputes for Ostentation, or Disputing's sake, so it hath a just Deference to the Person, and his contrary Opinion; it preserves Decency and good Manners; allows all that can possibly be granted, and takes care to soften the Opposition of that which Judgment will not suffer it to allow. But of this I have spoken in another Part of this Treatise already; and therefore shall dismiss the Subject at present, and with it three Parts of that Duty which Parents owe to their Children.

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1375

The fourth and last Part of this Duty concerns CHAP. XIV.
the Affection they ought to bear towards their Chil- 35.
dren, and the Manner of treating and conversing Paternal
with them when they are grown up, and the former Affection. Rules have had their desired Effect. Now we
need not be told that the Affection between Parents
and Children is natural and reciprocal: But it is
stronger and more natural on the Parent's side, be-
cause this is the streight Course of Nature, carrying
on the Life, and promoting the Succession of Man-
kind by a Descent of a right Line; whereas that of
Children are only by way of Rebound and Refle-
ction, and consequently cannot move so vigorously
back again as the former does forward. This in-
deed seems rather to be the paying of a Debt, and
the sense and return of Kindnesses received, than
free, and natural, and pure Love. Besides, he that
first does the Kindness, loves more than the Person
who is passive, and receives it: And therefore the
Parent, who is the first Mover, loves more vehe-
mently than he is beloved again. Of this Assertion
there are many Arguments to assure us. Every thing
is fond of Existence, and Existence proves it self by
Exercise and Action. Now whoever does Good to
another, does after some sort exist in that Person;
and he who gives Being, manifestly lives and acts in
that Being which is propagated by him. He that
does a Kindness, does a noble and generous Thing;
but he who receives it, hath not the same to alledge:
For the Virtue is the proper Quality of the First;
but the Profit and Advantage is peculiar to the Se-
cond. Now Virtue, we know, is rooted in the
Nature of the Thing, and consequently is a more
worthy and amiable, a more firm and permanent
Quality than that of Advantage can possibly be,
for

BOOK III. for this is additional, occasional, and accidental only; it may quickly vanish into nothing, and take it self away. Again, we are fond of those Things that are obtained with Difficulty and Expence: *That is dear to us which costs us dear*, says the Proverb. But the bringing Children into the World, the cherishing, maintaining, and educating them, are infinitely more troublesome for Parents to bestow, than it is possible to be to Children to receive these Advantages.

36.
Of two
kinds.

But this Love of Parents is capable of a very just Distinction; and tho' there be two different sorts of it, yet thus far they agree, that both are natural. The first is purely and entirely so; little, if at all removed from that which we commonly call *Instinct* in Brutes; for they partake of it as well as we. This disposes Parents to a strange Tenderness for their Children, even at the Breast, and in the Cradle, and gives the first infant Cries and Complaints, a wondrous Power of moving Compassion, and piercing their very Souls. This likewise inspires an unaccountable Fondness and Delight in them; while as yet they are only capable of diverting us, and as meer Play-things, as those Wax and Plaister-babies which themselves are shortly to be entertained withal. Now this Affection is not strictly and properly Human: Nor ought a Man, enrich'd with an Endowment so noble as Reason, to suffer himself to be thus enslav'd to Nature, after the manner of Beasts that know no better; but rather that he should be led by these Motions of the Soul, and follow them freely, with all that Temper and Evenness which Judgment and Consideration should inspire; for these should preside over Nature, and moderate its Affections, reducing all

The Duty of Parents and Children. 1377

to the Measures and Guidance of Reason. But now CHAP. XIV.
the other sort is agreeable to these, and consequently more human and worthy of us. This inclines us to love our Children more or less, as they are more or less attracting and deserving our Affection; to rise in this as these tender Plants of ours blossom and bud; and in proportion to the early Dawnings and brighter and stronger Shining of Wit and good Sense, Virtue and Goodness in them. Some Parents there are, who seem wonderfully transported with the first Appearances of this kind, but lose the Satisfaction soon after, because the Charge of maintaining them at first, is no great Matter; but that of the Education, which must improve and finish them, and bring Credit to their natural Gifts, is grievous and insupportable. This looks as if they grudged their Children the Honour and Happiness of growing wiser and better, and were sorry that they answer the End of their Creation; a Folly so absurd, so infinitely unreasonable, that we may justly call them brutish and inhuman Fathers who are guilty of it.

Now in pursuance of this second and properly paternal Affection, Parents should by all means admit their Children, so soon as they are capable of it, to keep them Company: They should make them a competent Allowance, fit for the Rank and Condition of them and their Family; should enter them into Business, and let them see the World; confer and consult with them about their own private Affairs, communicate their Designs, their Opinions to them, not only as their Companions, but their Friends, and not keep them in Darkness, and Strangers to things which they have so great an Interest in: These should consent to, and even condescend to as-

T t t

371
sist

BOOK III. list in their becoming and innocent Diversions, as
 ~~~~~ Occasion shall offer, and so far as any of these things  
 can conveniently be done; but still so as to preserve  
 all due Regard to their own Authority, and the Character of a Parent: For certainly such prudent Reserves may be used in this Case, as would in no degree diminish that; and yet abundantly condemn that stern and austere, that magisterial and imperious Countenance and Carriage, which never lets a Child hear one mild Word, nor see one pleasant Look. Men think it now below them to hear of the Relation, and disdain to be call'd Fathers; when yet God himself does not only condescend to, but delight in that Title above all others whatsoever. They make it no part of their Endeavour or Concern, to win the Love of their Children, but prefer Fear and Awe, and respectful Expressions of Distance, before all the Endearments and Testimonies of a dutiful and tender Affection: And, to contain them in these Sentiments the better, and to confirm them the more, they shew their Power by holding their Hands, and denying the Supplies that are necessary and fit for them, make them (as the Term is) *bite of the Bridle*, and not only live like Beggars or Scoundrels at present, but threaten to keep them so, by leaving their Estates from them when they die. Now what Stuff is all this? How sottish and ridiculous a Farce do such People act? What is this but to distrust the Efficacy of that Authority which is real and natural, and of right belongs to the Relation they stand in, that so they may usurp a foreign and unjust Jurisdiction, and frame an artificial and imaginary Authority to themselves? An Authority which all serious and good Men do but pity or condemn; nay, which crosses and contradicts the very  
 End

## The Duty of Parents and Children. 1379

End of all this foolish Project; for they destroy that CHAP. XIV.  
 very Reverence they would maintain, and render  
 themselves despicable in their own Families, a Jest  
 and Scorn even to those Children: But if it have  
 not this Effect (which it too often hath) of draw-  
 ing such Contempt upon them, yet is it a mighty  
 Temptation to young People thus us'd to take to  
 Tricks, and little dishonest Shifts, and without the  
 least remorse, to cheat and impose upon such Pa-  
 rents, whose Business indeed should have been to  
 regulate and inform their Minds, and shew them the  
 Equity and Reasonableness of their Duty; but by  
 no means to have Recourse to such kind of Treat-  
 ment as is much more agreeable to the arbitrary  
 Violence of a Tyrant, than the affectionate Regards,  
 and kind Care of a Father. What says the wise  
 Comedian to this Purpose?

*\* Truly in my Mind the Man thinks much amiss,  
 Who believes that Government purely by Force,  
 Shou'd have more Authority, and a better Foundation  
 Than when 'tis accompany'd with Tendernefs and Re-  
 spect.*

As to the final Disposal of the Estate, the best 38;  
 and wisest way (all notable and extraordinary Acci-  
 dents excepted) will be, to take our Measures from  
 the Laws and Customs of the Country where we  
 dwell: For it ought to be presum'd, that the Laws  
 are wiser than we, and that the Makers of them  
 consider'd things more maturely than private Men  
 are likely to do: And if any Inconvenience shou'd  
 afterwards happen from such a Distribution, it will

*\* Errat longè meâ quidem Sententia,  
 Qui imperium credit esse gravius aut stabilius  
 Vi quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adjungitur.*

T t t t 2

be



BOOK III. be much more excusable to Posterity, that we have  
err'd in going in the common Road, than if it had  
been by any particular Whimsy of our own. But  
sure there cannot be a greater abuse of the Trust re-  
pos'd in us, and the Liberty we have to dispose of  
our Fortunes as we please, than to let little foolish  
Fancies, and frivolous Quarrels, or private Resent-  
ments, weigh down the Obligations of a higher Na-  
ture, and either endite, or alter Articles in our Will:  
And yet how many Instances do we see of Men,  
who suffer themselves to be transported by a most  
unreasonable Partiality, and are wrought upon ei-  
ther by some little officious Diligence, or the Pre-  
sence of one Child when the rest are absent, to  
make a mighty Difference, where Blood and Duty  
have never made any at all; who play with their  
Wills as if it were a jesting matter, and gratify or  
chastise such Actions as do not deserve such Ani-  
madversion; for it ought to be something much  
more than common, which excludes those who have  
a just Pretence to share in what we leave, or that  
disposes us to a Division so unequal, as should very  
much affect the Fortunes of our Children, in pre-  
judice to one another, and leave no Mark whereby  
to know that they were Brothers and Sisters. And  
if the acting thus be a Fault, the threatening at a di-  
stance, or promising such an Inequality, is highly  
wicked and foolish, and of most pernicious Influ-  
ence in the Family: And therefore I say still, in de-  
spight of any supportable Defects in our Children,  
the Flatteries and Officiousness of some, or the par-  
donable Provocations of others, let us sit down and  
consider that this, as it is one of the last, so it is one  
of the most important and serious Actions of our  
Lives; and therefore Reason, and Law, and com-  
mon

## *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 1381

mon Usage ought to take place in it: For these CHAP. XIV.  
are the wisest Guides we can follow, and in conform-  
ing to them, we take the surest Course to answer  
the Obligations of our Character, to vindicate our  
Proceedings to the World, and to quiet and satisfy  
our own Consciences.

We are now come to that other general Division  
of this Chapter, the Duty of Children towards  
their Parents; than which there is not any more  
plainly and visibly writ in the Book of Nature, or  
more expressly and positively enjoin'd by Religion:  
A Duty which ought to be paid them, not as meer  
and common Men, but as a sort of Demy-gods,  
earthly and visible Deities in mortal Flesh. Upon  
this Account, *Philo* the Jew tells us, that the fifth  
Commandment was written half of it in the first,  
and the other half in the second Table of the Deca-  
logue; because it in part regards the Duty we owe  
to God, and in part that which we owe to our Neigh-  
bour: This is likewise so self-evident and acknow-  
ledg'd a Duty, so strictly and indispensably requir'd  
at our Hands, that no other Duty, no other Af-  
fection can supersede it, even though our Affection  
to other Persons may, and is allow'd to be more in-  
timate and tender: For put the Case, that a Man  
hath a Father and a Son both involved in the same  
Distress, and that he have it in his Power to relieve  
but one of them, it hath been the Opinion of very  
wise Men, that he is bound to assist his Father, not-  
withstanding his Affection to the Son (according to  
what hath been urg'd upon that Occasion) be the  
greater and stronger. The Reason of which Reso-  
lution seems to be, that the Son's Debt to the Fa-  
ther is of longer standing; and the Obligation bore  
Date, and was in Force before that to his own Son;

T t t t 3

and

39.  
*Duty of  
Children.*

BOOK III. and that therefore it is in this, as in other Cases of like Nature, where no antecedent Tie can be cancell'd by any Engagement or Debt contracted afterwards.

40. Now this Duty principally consists in five Particulars; all of which are comprehended under that significant Expression of honouring our Father and Mother.

The first is Reverence; by which we are to understand, not only those external Respects of the Looks, or Gestures, or Behaviour, but the inward and respectful Sense of the Mind; and this indeed chiefly, as the Source and Foundation of the other. Now this consists in the high Esteem, and profound Veneration for them, looking upon them as the Authors and Original of our Being, and all the Comforts of it. The Instruments and immediate Causes which the universal Father of all things was pleas'd to make choice of, for the bringing us out of nothing, and making us what we are; and therefore, in that Quality, bearing a very great Resemblance to God himself.

The second is Obedience, which, provided the Matter of the Command be lawful, cannot be dispens'd with, upon the Pretence of any Rigour or Hardship that it is encumber'd with. And thus Jer. xxxv. we find the *Rehabites* commended by God himself, for complying with the Severities of Life, imposed upon them and their Posterity, by *Jonadab* their Ancestor.

The Third is, Succouring them in all their Exigencies and Distresses, maintaining and cherishing them in their Wants and Weaknesses, old Age and Sickness, Infirmities and Poverty, must be so far from provoking our Scorn and Contempt, that they are  
but



## *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 1383

but so many louder Calls, and more engaging Ties CHAR. XIV. to Love and Duty, to Assistance and Respect; aiding and advising them in their Business, and exerting our utmost Power to do them Service. Of this we have some wonderful Examples in the other Parts of Nature; and Brutes themselves have set us a noble, and almost inimitable Pattern; particularly the Stork, which *St. Basil* so elegantly extols upon this Account: For the young Storks are said to nourish and feed the old ones; to cover them with their Feathers, when the shedding of their own exposes them to the Injuries of the Cold and Weather; to fly in Couples, and join Wings to carry them on their Backs. Nature, it seems, inspiring them with their artificial Contrivance of shewing this Piety and Affection. This Example is so lively, so very moving, that the Duty of Parents to their Children hath been express'd in some Translations by *Ἀντιπελαργεῖν*, that is, *acting the Part of a Stork*. And the *Hebrews* in consideration of this eminent Quality, call this Bird *Chafida*, which signifies *kind, charitable, good-natur'd*. Some very remarkable Instances of this kind among Men, we read in antient History. *Tymon*, Son to the great *Miltiades*, when his Father was dead in Prison, and so poor that he had not wherewith to bury him (tho' some say it was for the Payment of his Debts, for failure whereof, his Corps was arrested, and kept above-ground) sold himself, and sacrificed his Liberty for a Sum of Money, to be expended in defraying the Charges of his Funeral. This Man did not contribute to his Father's Necessities out of his own Abundance, or his actual Possessions, but parted with his Freedom; a thing dearer to him, and esteemed more valuable than either Fortune, or Life it self, for his Father's sake. He did not

Book III. relieve him alive, and in distress, but when he was dead, no longer his Father, no longer a Man. What a brave, what an heroick Act was this! What may we reasonably imagine so gallant a Son would have done! what indeed would he not have done for a living and a necessitous Father, one that had asked, or that had needed his Assistance! This is a generous and a glorious Instance of the Duty now under Consideration. We are likewise told of two Examples in the weaker Sex, Women who suckled, the one her Father, and the other her Mother, when they were Prisoners under Sentence of Condemnation, and to be famished to Death; which is said to have been heretofore a Punishment very commonly inflicted in capital Cases. It looks a little unnatural for a Mother to subsist upon her Daughter's Milk: This is turning the Stream back again up to to the Fountain-Head; but sure it deserves to be considered by the Ladies of our Age, how very natural, indeed how fundamental and primitive a Law of Nature it is, for Mothers to suckle, and give that Sustenance which Nature hath provided on purpose to their own Children.

The *Fourth* Duty is, to be governed and directed by them in all matters of Moment; to attempt no considerable thing without taking their Advice, and asking their Consent, and being confirmed in our Intentions and Designs, by the Parents Approbation and good liking. This is a general Rule, extending to all the important Affairs of human life; all that are fit to trouble and consult them about; but it hath a special Regard to the disposing of themselves in Marriage, which is of all others the most weighty and serious, and such as Parents have a particular

## The Duty of Parents and Children. 1385

particular Right to be well informed of, and perfectly satisfied in. CHAP. XIV.

The *Fifth* is, covering their Vices and Imperfections, submitting to their Humours and Passions, their Severity and hard Usage, and bearing all their most unreasonable Peevishness and angry Rebukes with Patience and Temper. Of this we have a notable Instance in *Manlius Pomponius*. The Tribune had accused the Father of this *Manlius* to the People, of several grievous Crimes; among the rest of horrible Barbarity to his Son; and among other Indignities, that he forced him to dig, and drive the Plough. This Son went to this Tribune's House, found him in Bed, and, putting a Knife to his Throat, made him swear that he would withdraw the Indictment, and prosecute his Father no farther; declaring, that he had rather submit to the most slavish Drudgery his Father could impose upon him, and toil at it all the Days of his Life, than see him prosecuted and exposed for any rigorous Carriage to him.

These five Duties, at first Sight, may perhaps seem too rigid, but there is no Child who would not allow them to be very reasonable and becoming him to pay, did he but give himself the Trouble of considering seriously how much he hath stood his Parents in; what Pain and Anxiety, what tender Care and Concern, what Trouble and Expence, and what a World of Affection went to the bringing of him up. But this in Truth is a Computation which no Man is capable of making justly, till he come to have Children of his own; then Matters will appear to him quite otherwise than now they do; And therefore, as the Philosopher, who was found riding on a Hobby-Horse with his little Boy, desired



**Book III.** desired that his Friend would forbear to expose that Levity of his, till he was a Father himself: So in the Case before us, whoever shall imagine that the Duty to Parents is carried beyond Equity and Reason, or their Merits to their Children over-rated here, we must beg that he will be content to suspend his final Determination of this Matter till that Time come, which alone can make him a competent Judge of it.

---

### C H A P. XV.

#### *Duties of Masters and Servants.*

**T**Here remains now only the Third and last Part of private and domestick Justice to be spoken to, which consists of the mutual Duties of that lowest Relation between Masters and Servants.

Now, in order to a right Understanding of this Matter, we must remember, that there are different Sorts of Servants, and more especially the three that follow. The *First* are what we call Slaves, in which all the World abounded heretofore, and the greatest Part of it does so still; for except one Quarter of *Europe*, they are still reckoned as Part of their Masters Riches and Estate: And accordingly, they have no Right in any thing, not so much as in their Goods, their Children, or their own Bodies; but their Patron hath an absolute Power to buy and sell them, to give them, or barter them away, and to deal with them in as arbitrary and uncontrolled a Manner as we do with our Horses, or Cattel, or any Beasts of Service. Of these we have delivered our Opinion at large in the first Book. The next **Book I.** **Chap. 43.** are, what we commonly call Servants and Attendants; these are Free-Men, and have a Right inviolable

## *Duties of Masters and Servants.* 1387

CHAP. XV.

lable in their own Persons and Possessions; nay, they have such an indefeasible Liberty, that it cannot be taken away from them by any voluntary Compact of their own, or any other Means used in Prejudice of it: But they are bound to pay Honour and Respect, Obedience and Service, for so long a Time, and upon such Conditions as have been covenanted for; and their Masters accordingly have a Power of commanding, correcting and punishing them, within the Bounds of Moderation and Discretion. The *Third* Sort are, what we may term Hirelings, or Workmen; which are still less in Subjection than the former: For they are not obliged to Attendance, nor Obedience in general; but only to the Performance of that particular Work we take them for; and so they only make an Exchange of their Labour and Industry for so much of our Money; for those that hire them have no Authority either to correct them for doing amiss, or to command them at large in any other thing.

Now, the Duty of Masters towards their Servants, whether in the Quality of Slaves, or of Attendants, is, not to use them barbarously, but always to remember, that these too are Men, of the very same Species with themselves, made up of the same Materials, cast in the same Mould, descended from the same Ancestors; that it is not Nature which hath put any Difference, but only Fortune, and Fortune is a very humourfome and changeable Thing, for she seems to make her self great Diversion with her Wheel, and triumph in turning those that were at the Bottom up to the Top, and tumbling those that sat at the Top down to the Bottom: Consequently, that the Distinction is not so great, as they are willing to imagine, nor what can bear them out in keeping  
their

BOOK III. their Fellows at so vast a distance, and expecting such wonderful Submissions from them. \* For *these*, says *Seneca*, are *Men*, and our poor *Friends*, and *humble Companions*, but *withal*, our *Fellow-Servants*; for we are all equally at the Disposal of the same Providence. Our Servants then should be treated with Courtesy and Condescension, not with proud Disdain and impious Contempt; we should rather make it our Business that they may love us, than that they may be afraid of us: But to deal roughly, and use them hardly, discovers great Inhumanity and Cruelty of Disposition, and plainly declares, that we should use all Mankind just so, if we had them as much at our Mercy, and that it is not want of Will, but want of Power, which hinders us from the Execution of our barbarous Inclinations. We are also obliged to have Regard to their Health, to be kind and tender of them in Sickness, and sad Accidents, to provide for their Instruction, and take special Care that they be taught their Duty; especially such Things as are necessary to be known for the Good of their Souls, and which their everlasting Salvation may be promoted by.

The Duty of Servants is to honour and fear their Masters, with regard to this Relation between them, whatsoever they may be, or how little soever they may deserve such Deference in any other respects; to obey them faithfully and diligently, to be true to their Trust, to serve not only in Appearance, and while the Master's Eye is upon them, but sincerely, seriously, and cordially, out of a Principle of Conscience, and without the least mixture of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation; to sow no Dis-

\* Sunt homines contubernales, humiles amici, conservi, æquæ Fortunæ subiecti.



## *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 1389

cord, or foment Jealousies and Discontents in the Family; to keep Secrets, not to turn Whisperers or Hearkeners, or busy Bodies, nor divulging what is done at Home to the Prejudice of their Master, but advancing his Interest, and vindicating his Reputation, as well as assisting and defending his Person so far as lies in their Power. And indeed there are several very noble, and generous, and brave Instances upon Record of eminent Things done by Servants for their Masters; nay, some of them have gone so far as to hazard their own, for the saving their Master's Life, or the doing Right to their Honour.

CHAP. XV.

---

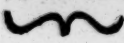
### C H A P. XVI.

#### *Duty of Princes and Subjects.*

Concerning Princes and their Dignity, the different Measures of their Power, the Humours to which this Elevation disposes them, the Miseries and Inconveniencies of so important a Trust, we have had occasion to speak already, in the Forty sixth Chapter of the First Book, as we likewise have done very largely in the Second and Third of this Book, concerning their Duty, and how they ought to govern: But, all this notwithstanding, we will just touch upon the main Strokes and general Heads of their Business in this Place.

A Sovereign Prince is in a middle Station between God and his People, and therefore a Debtor he is to each of them; as such, he should constantly remember, that he is the living Image and Representation, the Vice-roy and Commissioner General of the Great, the Almighty God, who is likewise his Prince and his Master; that with regard

to

Book III.  to his People, he is a shining Light, a Mirror in continual Reflection, a Spectacle set up on high, that draws all Eyes to it; a Spring, of whose Waters all his Subjects hope to drink; a Spur and mighty Incitement to Virtue, and one that can never do any Good, but the Benefit of it is diffused far and wide, and the Remembrance of it faithfully treasured up, and put to Account. This in short is his Character, and these the Conditions of his Station, and from hence it is very easy to infer, what must needs be required of him to answer and fill up the several Parts of this Description.

It is evident then, first of all, that he is in an especial Manner obliged to Devotion, Religion, Piety, and the Fear of God; and that, not only with regard to himself, considered abstractedly, and for the satisfying his own Conscience, as he is a Man; but moreover with respect to his Government, in his politick Capacity, and as a Prince. Now the Piety which concerns us to observe in this Place, is consequently not so much the personal, as the publick and princely Acts of it; the Care and Regard he ought to have for the Preservation and Security of the established Religion, making seasonable Provision for its Protection and Defence by wholesome and wise Laws, ordering and inflicting severe Penalties upon the Poisoners and Disturbers of it, and taking all possible Care that neither the Doctrines and Mysteries of it be reviled and blasphemed, nor the Rights of it violated, nor the Exercise of it innovated and confounded by fickle and factious Men. This is a Care that will conduce mightily to his Honour, and the Security of his own Person and Government: For Men are naturally disposed to stand in greater Awe of, and pay a more willing

## Duties of Masters and Servants. 1391

willing Obedience to a Governor, who (they are convinced) does truly fear God. They are more fearful and cautious in forming any Attempts against such a one, because the natural Notions of a superintending Providence represent him to Mankind, as one under the more special and immediate Care of God. \* *Piety* (says an old Author) *is one strong Guard. All the Malice of the evil Genius, and all the Strength of Fate are not able to take any hold on the pious Man; for his God delivers him from all Evil.* Nor is this a Safeguard to his Person only, but to his Country and Government also; for all the Philosophers and wise Men are unanimously agreed, that Religion is the strongest Tie, the closest and most binding Cement of human Society and mutual Commerce.

The Prince is also bound to pay a strict and inviolable Obedience to the Laws of God, and to enforce the same Obedience and religious Observance upon other People: For these Laws are indispensable and eternal; and he who endeavours the reversing, or (which as to the Effect is almost the same thing) the bringing them into publick Neglect and Contempt, is not only a Tyrant, but a Monster.

As to the People under his Jurisdiction, he is oblig'd first of all faithfully and punctually to keep his Promises, and Covenants, and Treaties, whether these Engagements were entred into with his own Subjects as Parties, or whether with any other that have an Interest in them. This is a Branch of natural and universal Equity; even God himself, who is above all Law but that of his own most holy and divine Will, declares himself bound by,

\* *Una custodia Pietas. Pium virum nec malus Genius nec Fatum devincit. Deus enim eripit eum ab omni malo.*

and



BOOK III. and always true to his Promises. *Hath he said it, and shall he not do it? And God is not a Man that he should lie, or the Son of Man that he should repent: Behold I the Lord have said it, I will certainly bring it to pass.* These are the Characters given us of himself, by *the God that cannot lie*, in holy Scripture: And it would ill become his Image upon Earth, to degenerate from that great Pattern above, and be changed into the Resemblance of him who is the Father of Lies. But besides the Obligations to Truth in this Respect, a Prince is the Security, the formal Guarrantee for the Laws and mutual Agreements between his Subjects; and he is to see that they proceed in all their private Transactions, according to Justice and Truth. His Engagement therefore to keep his Word is superior and more binding than that of any other Man can possibly be; for there is not any Quality or Crime possible for a Prince to be guilty of, so shameful and detestable as the violating his Word and his Oath. Upon which Account it hath been observed, that whenever a Prince goes counter to his Promise, we are to suppose him controlled and over-power'd by some extraordinary Accident or Exigence: For to imagine him false to his Engagements, without invincible Necessity, were to entertain a Presumption inconsistent with the Reverence due to so high a Character: Nor is he bound by his own Promises and Covenants only, but likewise by those of his Predecessors, if he succeeded into their Right by Inheritance, or any other Way that declar'd him satisfied to take the Crown as he found it, or if they be such as manifestly contribute to the publick Safety and Advantage. In short, by the same Reason, and upon the same Accounts, he may discharge himself of all the unreasonable

## *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 1393

unreasonable and prejudicial Promises, with regard CHAP. XVI.  
to his People, that private Persons think sufficient  
to disengage them from, when they stand bound  
to their Prince.

Again, Princes, even the most absolute of them  
all, ought to consider, that although the Law (the  
civil and human Law I mean) be their own handy  
Work and proper Sanction, changed and abrogated  
at Pleasure (for this legislative Power is the peculiar  
Right and distinguishing Character of Sovereignty)  
and so, in that respect, they are above the Law, as  
the Creator is above his Creature; yet so long as any  
Law stands unrepealed, and in full Force, they are  
bound in all Equity and good Conscience to make  
it the Rule and Standard of their Actions and De-  
terminations: And it would be an infinite Blemish  
and Dishonour to themselves, as well as of ill Ex-  
ample and pernicious Consequence to others, if they  
should do otherwise: For this were to refuse to stand  
to their own Act and Deed; a living in perfect  
Contradiction, and giving the Lie to themselves.  
The great *Augustus* had like to have died with re-  
morse, for having once upon Occasion done in his  
own Person, a thing contrary to Law: *Agefilau*s  
and *Seleucus* have left us very memorable Examples  
of this kind, and paid very dear for them.

*Thirdly*, The Prince is a Debtor to his People  
for the regular Administration of Justice, and ought  
upon all Occasions to make this the Measure of his  
Power, and not to stretch beyond the Line. This  
indeed is the peculiar Excellence of a Prince, a truly  
royal and distinguishing Virtue. Upon which Ac-  
count, it was both smartly and pertinently replied  
by an old Woman to King *Philip*, upon his put-  
ting her off, upon pretence that he was not at lei-

U u u u

sure

BOOK III. sure to do her Right, that if he could not spare Time  
 W to do the Duty of his Office, he ought to lay it down, and be a King no longer. But *Demetrius* did not come off so easily upon the like Provocation: For, upon his throwing several of their Petitions into the River, without ever returning any Answer to them, or redressing the Grievances they complained of, they thought themselves at Liberty to take another Course, and dethroned the King, who had express'd such an haughty Disregard to his People and their Addresses.

6. Once more: He ought to love and to cherish, to take a very tender Care of his Subjects, and imitate the King of Kings, in watching over them for their Good: His Affection and his Deportment ought to be that of a Husband to the Wife of his Bosom: His Bowels and provident Concern, those of a Father to his Children: His Vigilance, that of a Shepherd over his Flock; constantly keeping in his Eye the Advantage and Security of his People, and making their Ease, and Quiet, and Welfare, the Aim and End of all his Undertakings. The Happiness of the Country is the Satisfaction and Joy of a good King; the Strength, the Wealth, the Honour, the Virtue of his People are his chief Desire and Delight. That Prince who looks no farther than himself, and his own Interest, abuses and imposes upon himself: For he is none of his own, nor is the State for him, but he for the State. He is indeed the Master and the Governor of it, but not to the Intent that he should domineer and tyrannize over it, but that, by the Advantage of so great a Power, he may be enabled to support and maintain it. \* The People are committed to him, not as an absolute Possession,

\* Cui non Civium servitus tradita, sed tutela.



## *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 1395

and to make them Slaves; but as a Trust, to be CHAP. XVI.  
their Guardian, and to use them like so many Minors under his Direction; to cherish, and breed, and watch over them: That by virtue of his vigilant Care, his Subjects may sleep securely; that in his Toil and Fatigues they may find Ease and Leisure; that his Industry may preserve their Properties and Pleasures, and that every Man under his Jurisdiction may know and feel experimentally that he is as much for their Advantage as he is above them in Dignity and Power.

Now, In order to the being so indeed, and the effectual Discharge of this important Trust, it will be necessary for him to govern himself by the Rules which have been laid down at large in the second and third Chapter of this Book: That is, to be sufficiently provided with a wise Counsel, a substantial Exchequer, and a convenient Strength of Forces at Home, and with significant Alliances and Friends abroad. To manage this Provision to the best Advantage, and so to act and rule, both in Peace and War, that he may reign in the Hearts of his People, and be both loved and feared by them at the same time. 7.

To be short, and say all in a Word, the Character of a truly good King is compounded of these following Qualifications: He must fear and reverence his Master, Almighty God, above all; he must be prudent and considerate in his Designs, vigorous and bold in the Execution of them, firm in his Resolutions, true to his Word, wise and discerning in his Counsel, tender of his Subjects, assisting to his Friends, formidable to his Enemies, compassionate to those in Distress, courteous and kind to good Men, a Terror to the Wicked, and just to all. 8.

The Duty of Subjects towards their Prince, consists of three Particulars. The *First* is Honour and Reverence, and this is due to Princes, in regard they are the Image and Similitude of the most High God, established and ordained by him; and therefore those who disparage and detract from them, that revile or speak ill of them, and endeavour to sow Discords and discontented Thoughts, by virulent Reproaches, or wicked Scandals, are very highly to be blamed. These indeed are the true Descendants of prophane and undutiful *Ham*, who either invent and contrive, or at least expose and deride their Father's Shame. The *Second* is Obedience, which is a Word of very extensive Signification, and includes serving them in the Wars, paying the Taxes and Tributes imposed by their Authority, and the like. The *Third* is, heartily desiring their Happiness and Prosperity, and recommending them and their Undertakings to the Blessing and Protection of Almighty God, in constant and fervent Prayers for them.

10.

But a very considerable Doubt arises upon this Occasion, which is, Whether all these Duties are to be paid to all Princes without any Distinction; whether wicked Princes, whether Tyrants have a Right to them? This Controversy cannot be decided by any single positive Answer; but to come to a true Resolution of the Point, we must state the Case, and distinguish the Circumstance cautiously: For a Prince may be tyrannical either at the very Entrance into his Power, or in the Exercise of it afterwards, that is, he may usurp his Authority, or he may abuse that rightful one which he is fairly possessed of. If his Entrance upon the Government be tyrannical, that is, if he invade without any just Pretension, be he otherwise a good or bad Governor

nor

## *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 1397

nor, it matters not much; it hath been the general CHAP. XVI.  
Sense of wise Men, that he ought to be withstood  
by Methods of Justice and legal Redress, if there  
be any Opportunity of obtaining Redress that way;  
but if there be not, then by open Force. And in-  
deed I take it, that where we meet with the Word  
*Tyrant* in old Authors, who use it in an ill Sense, it  
ought constantly to be thus understood: And *Cicero*  
says, that among the antient *Greeks*, there were par-  
ticular Honours and Rewards assigned to those who  
distinguished themselves by such Deliverances of  
their Country from a lawless Yoke. Nor can this,  
in any good Propriety of Speech, be called resisting  
one's Prince, since it supposes him never to have  
been so, either in Right or in Fact, but only one  
who put himself upon the Poople without ever be-  
ing received, or recognized as such.

The Case is different, if this Tyranny be charged  
upon the Exercise and Administration of his Power  
only; that is, if he be duly possessed of his Power,  
but use it unduly; if he be cruel or wicked, which  
in the modern Language is, tyrannical and arbitrary.  
And here again we must be beholden to another  
Distinction, to help us to a right Understanding of  
the Case: For a Prince may be tyrannical in this Sense  
of the Word, three several ways, and a different  
sort of Behaviour is required from Subjects, with  
regard to each of them.

*First*, he may be so, by violating the Laws of God  
and Nature, acting contrary to the established Re-  
ligion of his Country, the express Commands of  
God, or the native Liberty of Mens Consciences.  
In this Case we must by no means obey him, accord-  
ing to the Maxims laid down in Holy Scripture,  
that *We ought to obey God rather than Man, and to*

U u u u 3

fear



BOOK. III *fear him who hath power over the whole Man, more than him who hath power over one part of the Man only, and that the less, and more inconsiderable part of him too.* But then, if we can have no Relief by Law or Justice, we must not have recourse to Violence, which is the contrary Extreme to a sinful Compliance, but keep the middle Way, which is to flee or to suffer.

§2. The second Case is not quite so bad as the former, because it offers no Violence to the Consciences of Men, but to their Bodies and Estates only, by abusing his Subjects, refusing to do them Justice, taking away the Liberty of their Persons, and the Property of their Estates. And here the three Duties mentioned before, Honour and Obedience, good Wishes and Prayers, ought still to be paid, with Patience and Submission, and a Sense and Acknowledgment of the Wrath of God let loose upon them in this Scourge of an unjust Prince: For there are three Considerations fit to be attended to upon such Occasions. One is, *That all Power is of God, and he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* \* *The Gods* (says a very wise and judicious Heathen) *have committed the supreme Judgment and last Determination of human Affairs to the Prince: The Glory of Obedience is the Subject's Portion; we must therefore wish and pray that we may have none but good Princes, but when we have them, we must endure them whether they be good or bad.* The Ground and formal Reason of our Obedience does not lie in the Consideration of their Personal Virtues, or just and commendable Administration, but in their Character and Superiority over us. There is a vast Difference between True and Good, and he who is tru-

\* Principi summum rerum Judicium Dii dederunt: Subditis obsequii gloria relicta est. Bonos Principes voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare.

## The Duty of Princes and Subjects. 1399

CHAP. XVI.

ly our Governor, though he be not a good Governor, is to be regarded as the Laws themselves are, which bind us not upon the Account of their Justice and Convenience, but purely upon the Account of their being Laws, and having the Sanction that is requisite to give them Authority. A second Reflection upon this Occasion should be, that God permits Hypocrites, and sets up wicked Men to bear Rule for the Sins of a People, and in the Day of his fierce Anger. He makes a barbarous unjust Prince the Instrument of his Vengeance; and therefore this must be born with the same Temper of Mind with which we submit to other Calamities made use of by God for that Purpose: \* *Like a Blast, or a barren Year, Inundations and excessive Rains, or Evils in the Course of Nature, so should the Avarice and Luxury of Princes be endured by those they oppress, says Tacitus.* Instances of this kind we have in *Saul* and *Nebuchadnezzar*, and several of the *Roman* Emperors before *Constantine's* Time, and some others, as wicked Tyrants as was possible for them to be, and yet good Men paid them these three Duties notwithstanding, and were commanded so to do by the Prophets and Preachers of those Times, in Agreement to our Great Master, the Oracle of Truth it self, who directs his Disciple to *obey those that sat in Moses's Chair*, though in the same Breath, he charges those very Governors with Wickedness and Cruelty, with *binding heavy Burdens*, and *laying upon Men's Shoulders more than could be born.*

The third Case concerns the State in general, Matt. xxiii. when the very Fundamentals of Government are endeavoured to be torn up, or overturn'd, when he

\* Quomodo Sterilitatem, aut nimios Imbres, & cætera Naturæ mala, sic Luxum & Avaritiam Dominantium tolerare.

BOOK III. goes about to change, or to take away the Constitution; as if, for Instance, a Prince would make that which is Elective, Hereditary, or from an Aristocracy, or Democracy, or any other such mix'd Government, would engross all to himself, and make it an absolute Monarchy, or in any other Case like, or equivalent to these, shall attempt to alter the State from what it was formerly, and ought to continue. In this Case Men may, and ought to withstand him, and hinder any such Attempts from taking place upon them, and that, either by Methods of legal Justice or otherwise; for a Prince is not the Master and Disposer of the Constitution, but the Guardian and Conservator of it. But then, this must be done regularly too, for the setting such Matters right, does not belong to all the Subjects indifferently, but to those who are the Trustees of the State, or have the principal Interest in it. Who these are, the Constitutions of the respective Countries must determine: In Elective Kingdoms, the Electors; in others, the Princes of the Blood; in Republicks, and those Places which have Fundamental Laws, the States General assembled: And this I conceive to be the only Case which can justify Subjects in resisting a Tyrant in this second Sense of the Word, with regard to the Exercise of his Power, and the Pretence of Male-Administration. What I have hitherto delivered upon this last Case is meant of *Subjects*; that is, of those who are not permitted in any Circumstances, or upon any Provocation to attempt any thing against their Sovereign; of them, I say, who are by the Laws declared guilty of a capital Crime, if they shall but counsel, or compass, or so much as imagine the Death of their King. And if so much be allowable to Men under these Obligations and Penalties,



## *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 1401

Penalties, then no doubt it is lawful, nay, it is CHAP. XVI. highly commendable and a glorious Action in a Stranger, or Foreign Prince, to take up Arms for the Defence and Revenge of a whole Nation labouring under unjust Oppression; to redress their Wrongs, and deliver them from the heavy Yoak of Tyranny, as we find *Hercules* in his Time, and afterwards *Dion* and *Timoleon*, and not long since *Tamerlane* Prince of the *Tartars*, who defeated *Bajazet* the *Turkish* Emperor, at the Siege of *Constantinople*.

Such is the State of a Subject's Duty to his Prince, during his Life-time; but when Princes are dead, it is but an Act of Justice to examine into their Actions. It is indeed a customary Thing so to do, and a very reasonable and useful Custom no doubt it is. The Nations that observe it, find mighty Benefit from this Practice, and all good Princes will have Reason to encourage and desire it, because thus, that common Complaint would be quite taken away, that all Princes are treated alike, and that there is no Distinction observed in our Respects to the Memory of the Good and Bad. Kings are the Law's Fellows, if they be not their Masters; and the Revenge, which Justice will not permit to be taken upon their Persons, it is but fitting that it should take upon their Reputation, and the Estates of their Successors. We owe Subjection and Obedience to all Kings alike, because this is an Obligation annexed to their Offices, and payable purely upon that Consideration; but we cannot be accountable for our Affection and Esteem to all alike, because these will depend upon their Qualities, and are due only to their Merits and Virtue. Let us then resolve patiently to endure even the worst and most unworthy, while we have them; let us endeavour to cover and conceal the Vices

CHAP. XVI.

Vices of the Living, for this is what Respect to their Authority requires from us; and besides the Weight and Difficulty of their Charge, and the Preservation of publick Peace and Order, challenge our joint Endeavours, and stand in need of the utmost we can possibly do to support them. But when they are withdrawn, and gone off the Stage, it would be hard to deny us a just Liberty of expressing our real Thoughts of them, without all that Reserve. Nay, it is an honest and a commendable Pattern which the Proceedings set to Posterity, who cannot but look upon it as a singular Commendation of our Obedience and Respect, that we were content to pay these to a Master, whose Imperfections we were very well acquainted with. Those Writers who, upon the Account of Personal Interest, or Obligations, espouse the Memory of a wicked Prince, and set it off to the World, do an Act of private Justice at the Expence of the Publick; for to serve, or shew themselves grateful, they defraud Mankind of the Truth. This Reflection were an admirable Lesson for the Successor, if it could be well observed, and a powerful Check it might be to the Exorbitancies of Power, to think with one's self that the Time will shortly come, when the World will make as free with his Character as they do at present with his Predecessor's.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Duty of MAGISTRATES.*

1. **T**Hose few wise and good Men who are Members of the Common-wealth, would doubtless be better pleased to retire into themselves, and live at Ease, full of that sweet Content which excellent

cellent and intelligent Persons know how to give themselves, in the Contemplation of the Beauties of Nature, and the Works of Providence, than to sacrifice all this Satisfaction to Business and a publick Post, were it not that they hope to do some good, in being serviceable to their Country by their own Endeavours, and in preventing the whole Administration of Affairs from falling into ill, or unskilful Hands. This may, and ought to prevail with Persons of this Character, to consent to the Trouble of being Magistrates: But to cabal and make Parties, and court Employments of Trust with Eagerness and Passion, especially such as are judicial, is a very base and scandalous Practice, condemned as such by all good Laws, even those of Pagan Republicks (as the *Julian Law* among the *Romans* abundantly testifies) unbecoming a Man of Honour, and the shrewdest Sign that can be that the Person is unfit for the Trust he seeks so vehemently. To buy publick Offices is still more infamous and abominable, the most sordid, the most villainous Way of Trading in the World: For it is plain, he that buys in the Piece, must make himself whole by selling out again in Parcels; which was a good Reason for the Emperor *Severus*, when he was declaring against a Fault of this nature, to say, *That it was very hard to condemn a Man for making Money of that which he had given Money for before.*

Just for all the World as a Man dresses, and sets his Person in Order and Form, putting on his best Face before he goes abroad, that he may make a Figure, and appear well in Company; so is it fit that a Man should learn to govern his own Passions, and bring his Mind to good Habits, before he presume to meddle with publick Business, or  
take



BOOK III. take upon him the Charge of governing other People. No Man is so weak to enter the Lifts with an unmanaged Horse, or to hazard his Person with such a one in any Service of Consequence and Danger; but trains and teaches him first, breeds him to his Hand, and uses him to the Exercise he is designed for: And is there not the same Reason that this wild and restiff part of our Soul should be tamed and accustomed to bear the Bit? should be perfectly instructed in those Laws and Measures which are to be the Rule of our Actions, and upon which, the good or ill Conduct of our Lives will depend? Is it not reasonable, I say, that a Man should be Master of his own private Behaviour, and expert in making the best of every Accident and Occasion, before he venture out upon the publick Stage, and either give Laws to others, or correct them for the Neglect of those they have already? And yet (as *Socrates* observed very truly) the Manner of the World is quite otherwise: For, tho' no body undertakes to exercise a Trade to which he hath not been educated, and served a long Apprenticeship, and how mean and mechanical soever the Calling be, several Years are bestowed upon the learning of it; yet in the Case of publick Administrations, which is of all other Professions the most intricate and difficult (so absurd, so wretchedly careless are we) that every body is admitted, every body thinks himself abundantly qualified to undertake them. These Commissions are made Compliments and Things of Course, without any Consideration of Men's Abilities, or regarding at all, whether they know any thing of the matter; as if a Man's Quality, or the having an Estate in his Country, could inform his Understanding, or secure his Integrity,  
or

or render him capable of discerning between Right and Wrong, and a competent Judge of his poorer (but perhaps much honeſter and wiſer) Neighbours. CHAP. XVII.

Magiſtrates have a mix'd Quality, and are placed in a middle Station, between ſovereign Princes and private Subjects. Theſe Subalterns therefore have a double Task incumbent upon them, and muſt learn both how to Command, and how to Obey. To obey the Princes who truſt and employ them, to ſubmit to, and truckle under the paramount Authority of their ſuperior Officers; to pay Reſpect to their Equals, to command thoſe under their Jurisdiction, to protect and defend the Poor, and thoſe that are unable to contend for their own; to ſtand in the Gap, and oppoſe the powerful Oppreſſor, and to diſtribute Right and Juſtice to all Sorts and Conditions of Men whatſoever. And if this be the Buſineſs of a Magiſtrate, well might it grow into a Proverb, that the Office diſcovers the Man, ſince no mean Abilities, no common Addreſs can ſuffice for the ſuſtaining ſo many Characters at once, and to act each Part ſo well as to merit a general Approbation and Applauſe.

As to the Sovereign, by whoſe Commiſſion the Magiſtrates act, his Commands muſt be the Rule of their Behaviour. Some of his Orders they ought to execute ſpeedily, ſome again they muſt by no means comply with, or be in any Degree instrumental in the Execution of them; and in others, the moſt adviſable Courſe will be, to ſuſpend their Obedience for ſome convenient Time.

In all Commiſſions which leave the Cogniſance of the Matter to the Magiſtrate, ſuch as thoſe of Oyer and Terminer, and in all others where this is the Clauſe [*ſo far as to you ſhall appear*] or any other Cauſe

**Book III.** Cause equivalent to this, inferred; or which, though they do not refer the Cognisance to him, yet order such things as are either manifestly just, or at least lawful and indifferent in their own Natures, he ought to obey readily, and without Demur; for here is no Difficulty, nor any Ground at all for a just and reasonable Scruple.

2. In such Commissions and Orders as do not leave the Cognisance of the Matter to him, but only decree some Point of executive Obedience; as in those, particularly, which we commonly call Mandates and Warrants, if they be contrary to any positive Law which the Sovereign hath Power to dispense with, and there be Clauses of *Non-obstante* for that Purpose, to save the Party harmless, he is obliged to obey his Orders without more to do: Because, according to the Civil Constitution, and the Laws of the Land, the Sovereign hath a Liberty reserved to him of relaxing, or setting aside the Law in such particular Cases: And the having such a Power over all Laws whatsoever, is the very thing in which absolute and unlimited Sovereignty consists.

3. In Cases contrary to Law, and where no such dispensing Clause is inserted, or such as manifestly make against the Publick Good (though there should be an Indemnifying Clause) or where the Magistrate knows his Orders to be obtained by Surprizes, or upon false Suggestions, or by corrupt Methods, he ought not, in any of these three Cases, to be hasty in the executing his Orders, but let them lie by a while, and with all Humility remonstrate against them; and, if Occasion be, repeat those Remonstrances a second or a third Time; but if the Command be peremptory and unalterable, and repeated as often, then he is to comply so far as in Honour



Honour and good Conscience he may, and for the rest, to excuse himself as well as he can. CHAP. XVII.

In Matters contrary to the Law of God and Nature, he must lay down his Office, and be content to quit all; nay, resolve to suffer the worst that can come, rather than be instrumental in, or consenting to them. I cannot so much as allow him to deliberate, or once to doubt, in such Circumstances, what he should do; for natural Justice cannot be hid, it shines clearer and brighter than the Sun; and all Men must see it, except those only who wilfully shut their Eyes, and wink hard against it.

All this Advice relates to Things in agitation, and intended, or ordered to be done; but as for those which the Sovereign hath done already, let them be never so wicked and unreasonable, a Man had better dissemble a Matter as well as he can, and try to wipe out all Remembrance of it, than lose all, by provoking, and expostulating with a Prince to no purpose; as *Papinian* did. *For \*it is the very Extremity of Madness to strive against the Stream, where no Ground can be got, nor any thing but Hatred and Disfavour for our Pains.*

As for their Duty, when considered in their other Capacity, and with regard to the private Subjects under their Government, Magistrates must always remember whose their Authority is, and from whence they derive it: That this is none of their own proper Right, but meerly a Trust; that they hold it from and under a Prince, that he hath the Fee, and is the Lord and constant Proprietor; but they are Tenants and Stewards at Will, put in to exercise this part of Jurisdiction for so long a Term

\* *Frustra niti, & nihil aliud nisi Odium querere, extremæ est dementiæ.*

BOOK III. only as their Commission purports, or during his Pleasure, and no longer: Now from hence it is very natural and obvious to infer,

2. That a Magistrate ought to be easy of Access, always ready and at leisure to hear and receive the Petitions and Complaints preferred to him. That his Doors should be open to all Comers, and he as seldom out of the way as is possible; but especially not so wilfully, and by Contrivance, for he should consider himself as no longer at his own Disposal, but a Servant of the Publick, and devoted to the Use and Benefit of other People: \* *A great Post is a great Slavery.* And this was the reason why *Moses's* Law commanded, that the Judges should keep their Sessions, and decide Controversies in the Gates of their Cities, that so Justice might offer it self to all that went in and out, and none might find any Difficulty in addressing for, or in obtaining it.

3. He ought to receive the Applications of all Persons and Conditions alike, and be open and kind to all, the Mean as well as the Great, and the Poor no less than the Rich. Upon which account it is, that one of the Philosophers compared a Magistrate to an Altar, to which all People have recourse in their Affliction and extream Necessity, pour out their Souls there, and depend upon Relief and Consolation for their Troubles from so doing.

4. But, tho' in point of Justice he should be free and open, yet in Friendships and Acquaintance he ought to be exceedingly reserved, not to make himself cheap and common, nor to admit any into his Familiarities and intimate Conversation, except some very few choice Persons, such as are known to be Men of sound Sense, and stanch Virtues, and

\* *Magna servitus, magna fortuna.*

these

these too, but privately: For a large and general Acquaintance debases the Authority of his Character, and abates of that Firmness and Vigour which is necessary for the due Discharge of it. When *Cleon* was chosen and admitted to the Government, he called all his Friends together, and solemnly renounced from that time whatever Friendship had been formerly between them, as thinking the continuing under such Engagements, by no means reconcileable with the Trust he had now took upon him; and *Cicero* observes accordingly, that a Man must put off the Character of the Friend, and lay that quite aside, before he can do Right to the part of a Judge.

There are two things wherein the Office of a Magistrate chiefly consist: The one is, to \* preserve and keep up the Honour, and Dignity, and just Rights of the Prince who hath employed him, and of the Publick, whose Representative he is, with a becoming State, with Gravity, authoritative Behaviour, and a well-temperd Severity.

Next, He is to act like a true and faithful Transcript from the Original, an Interpreter and Executor of his Master's Will, to see that this be duly declared, and diligently observed. By this Will I mean the Law; for this is the authentick Will of the Prince, and the only Declaration of it which Subjects are bound to take notice of. Of this the Magistrate is to exact a faithful Account, and punctual Observance; for which reason we often find him termed by Authors, *The living, and the speaking Law*.

\* Gerere personam civitatis, ejus dignitatem & decus sustinere.

X x x x

Now,



BOOK III.

7.

Now, though it be the Duty of a Magistrate, and an excellent Qualification in him to temper Justice with Prudence, and Severity with Gentleness and Forbearance, yet it must be confessed much more for the common Advantage, to have such Magistrates as encline to the Excess of Sharpness and Rigour, than those who are dispos'd to Mildness, and Easiness, and Compassion. For even God himself, who so highly recommends, so strictly enjoins all those human and soft Dispositions upon other Occasions, yet positively forbids a Judge to be moved with Pity. The strict and harsh Magistrate is the better Restraint, the stronger Curb; he contains People in Bounds, and preserves a due Awe and Obedience of the Laws: The mild and merciful one exposes the Laws to Contempt, makes Magistracy cheap, and lessens the Prince, who made both the Law and the Magistrate, in the Eyes and Esteem of the People. In one Word, There must go two Qualifications to the capacitating a Man for the discharging this Office compleatly, Integrity and Courage: The first cannot subsist alone, but stands in need of the second to support and back it. The former will be sure to keep the Magistrate's Hands clean from Avarice, and Partiality, and Respect of Persons; for Bribery and Gifts, which are the Bane and utter Exterminators of Truth, and from any other Violation of Justice, which *Plato* calls (what indeed it ought to be) a pure unblemished Virgin. This will also be a Guard to him against his Passions, the Aversion, or the Affection he may bear to the Parties concern'd, and indeed all other Resentments, which are but so many Enemies and Underminers of Right and Equity. But then he  
will

will find great Occasion for Courage too, to stand his Ground against the Menaces and imperious Sollicitations of great Men, the Requests and Importunities of Friends, who fancy they have a sort of Right to dispose of him, and will not take a reasonable Refusal: To harden him against the Prayers and Tears, the loud Cries, and bitter Complaints of the Miserable and Afflicted; for all these are very moving and forcible Inducements, a great Violence upon Reason and Duty; and yet so committed, that there is a plausible Appearance of both, in the very Diverſion they labour to give us from both. And the Truth is, this Firmness and inflexible Constancy of Mind is the most masterly Virtue, and particular Excellence of a Magistrate, that he neither be terrified and subdued by Greatness of Power, nor melted by Miseries and deplorable Circumstances. These are what very brave Men are often transported by, and therefore it is the greatest Praise to continue Proof against them: For, though being softened by the latter hath an Air of Good-nature, and is more likely to prevail upon the better Sort of Men, yet either of the Extrems is sinful, and both foreign to the Merits of the Cause, which is the thing only that lies upon the Judge. The Motives to Pity then are very dangerous Temptations, and what a Man in Authority ought as much to stop his Ears against as Promises or Threatnings; for even that God himself, who is Love and Mercy in Perfection, hath discountenanced this unseasonable Compassion: And the same Legislator who said, *Thou shalt not receive a Gift to blind thine Eyes therewith, neither shalt thou accept the Person of the Mighty*, found it no less necessary for the Good of Mankind, and the equal Distribution of Justice, no less agreeable to his

own Goodness, to add that other Command, *Thou shalt not favour a poor Man in his Cause.*

---

C H A P. XVIII.

*The Duty of great, and of mean Men.*

**Book III.** **W**THE Duty of Persons of Honour and Quality consists principally in these two Points: The lending a strong and powerful Assistance to the Publick; employing their Wealth, their Interest, their Blood, in the Maintenance and Preservation of Piety and Justice; of the Prince and the Government, and in general, of the common Safety and Advantage: For they are the Pillars and Supporters upon which these noble Structures stand; and by which they must be sustained. The other Branch consists in being a mighty Defence and Protection to the Poor and Needy, the Injured and Oppressed; by interposing their Power on the behalf of such, standing between them and Ruin, and giving a Check and Diversion to the Violence of wicked and unreasonable Men. Persons of Honour, in a State, should be like the Spirits and good Blood in our Bodies, which always run to the wounded and ailing Part. It was this that rendered *Moses* so proper to be made the Captain of the *Israelitish* Nation, and the Scripture takes express notice of his Zeal in revenging the Injuries of one of his Brethren who suffer'd wrong, and slaying the insolent *Egyptian*, as a Sign that God had marked him out for a Deliverer of his People. Thus *Hercules* was deified among the Heathens, for being a Scourge to the Cruelty of Tyrants, and a Refuge to those that were oppressed, and opprobriously treated by them: And those other  
renowned



## *Duty of great and of mean Men.* 1413

renowned Names in Antiquity, who followed his CHAP. XVIII  
Example, have always been looked upon as Heroes,  
and something more than Men. Particular Ho-  
nours and distinguishing Rewards were heretofore  
awarded to all such, as to Persons who deserved ex-  
ceedingly well of the publick, and for an Imita-  
tion: That no Character is more glorious, none  
more attractive of universal Admiration and pro-  
found Respect, than that of being a Succour to the  
Afflicted, and Abused, and helping those who were  
in no Condition of helping themselves. It is by no  
means true Greatness to appear formidable to any  
part of Mankind, except ones Enemies only. The  
Affectation to have others stand in Awe, and Dread,  
and to tremble before one, is a mean and pitiful  
Temper, and at the same time that it renders the  
Man a Terror, it renders him an Odium too, a  
publick Nuisance, and a common Enemy. Love  
in this case is more desirable than even Adoration  
could be without it: Such imperious Men betray  
a fierce and haughty, a proud and assuming Dispo-  
sition; this is it which makes them so contumeli-  
ous and disdainful, scorning their Inferiors, as if they  
were no better than the Dross and Dung of the  
World, and not Men of the same Nature with  
their own great selves. From hence by Degrees  
they degenerate into Barbarity and Insolence, abu-  
sing all beneath them, without the least Pity or  
Remorse; enslaving their Persons, invading their  
Properties and Possessions, as if Humanity and Ju-  
stice were intended only for the Benefit of them  
who need it least; and as if they had no Right to any  
thing, who cannot right themselves. All this is in-  
finitely distant from true Greatness, and utterly  
inconsistent with Generosity and a noble Mind; for

X x x x ;

these

BOOK III. these never dispose a Man to Cruelty or Contempt, but are a Safe-guard and Defence, and delight in Offices of Courtesy and Condescension, of Charity and Mercy.

The Duty of mean and inferior Persons towards those that are above them, is likewise Two-fold. First, That of Honour and Respect; and this, not confined meerly to the outward Behaviour, and the visible Marks of a ceremonious Distance (which is due upon the Account of their Quality and Rank in the World, considered abstractedly, and by it self. Be they in themselves what they will in other respects, their Virtues or their Vices make no Difference in the Case) but there is likewise an internal Honour, the real Esteem and Affection of the Heart, which must constantly attend and put forward the other, if they be deserving Persons, and Lovers of the Publick Good. Honour and Esteem are therefore capable of very different Senses; they are both due to such as are good, for such indeed are all they that are truly Great Men: To those who want this substantial Character of Quality, we must pay the Civilities of the Cap and the Knee; our Bodies may and ought to bow to them, but our Hearts cannot, for this is done only by paying them our Love and Esteem.

The other Part of this Duty consists in endeavouring to please, and be in their good Graces, by respectful and voluntary Tenders of our Service;

*To please the Great is not the smallest Praise.* Creech.

And putting \* our selves under the Shelter of their Protection. However, if we cannot make them our

\* Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est. *Horat. Ep. 17.*

## *Duty of great and of mean Men.* 1415

Friends, we should be sure to take care that they CHAP. XVIII may not be our Enemies ; which Care too must be as prudent as it is necessary, and rightly tempered with Moderation and Discretion : For nothing is more nauseous than a cringing, fawning Coxcomb, and excessive Officiousness does more Harm than Good. He that declines the Displeasure of a Great Man, with too solicitous a Caution, or tries to wriggle into his Favour by impertinent and unseasonable Addresses, does not only discover his own Weakness and despicable Littleness of Soul ; but he likewise ministers just Occasion of Jealousy and Offence, and secretly accuses his Patron of Cruelty or Injustice. And therefore what is done of this kind must be unseen, and by the by. \* *He must not make it his professed Business to decline and keep out of the way of his Anger, for no Man avoids another, who does not in his own Breast condemn, and think ill of him at the same Time.* But besides, this too anxious and constrained way of making our Court may have another very untoward Effect : For, if the Person be disposed to do ill, and delight to be feared, it may be a Temptation to him to exercise his Power to our Prejudice : For many times Men take a Pride to crush and insult over the fearful and suspicious, and mean unworthy Submissions do but provoke a more extravagant and remorseless Barbarity.

\* Non ex professo cavere aut fugere ; nam quem quis fugit, damnat.



Of FORTITUDE, *The Third*  
Cardinal *Virtue.*

---

**T**HE two *Virtues* which have been insisted upon hitherto are a *Rule to Men*, considered as *Members of Society*, and regard their *Deportment and Conversation*, their *Interests and Obligations with others*: These two that follow are to govern them within, and for themselves. They look upon *Fortune* in her two different *Aspects*, *Prosperity and Adversity*, which are general *Terms* for all the good or ill *Accidents of Human Life*, and the *Provision* made against them, is to arm the *Mind* by *Fortitude* against *Adversity*, and in *Prosperity* to balast and moderate it by *Temperance*. Both these *Virtues* might indeed be comprehended under the general *Notion of Constancy*, which is a tight, and even firmness, or steadiness of *Soul*, in all manner of *Accidents or outward Occurrences*; so that the *Man* is neither elevated and transported upon the *Account of Prosperity*, nor dejected and disheartened from any *Adversity* that befalls him.

---

C H A P. XIX.

Of FORTITUDE in general.

BOOK III.  
I.

**C**ourage (for so indeed this *Virtue* ought to be called, rather than *Fortitude*) is a right and strong *Resolution*, an equal and uniform *Steadiness of Mind*, by which we are enabled to encounter *Danger and Difficulty*, and *Pain*; so that the proper *Object*, and true *Matter*, about which this *Virtue* is conversant, is in general any thing that human *Infirmity* is apt to start at, or be terrified by.

by. Thus *Seneca* describes it, a Quality \* *that despises* CHAP. XIX.  
*all things in their own Nature formidable, that chal-*  
*lenges and conquers the Cause of our Fears, and such*  
*as enslave and subdue the native Liberty of the Soul.*

This is of all other Virtues the gallantest and most  
noble, and hath always been held in highest Ho-  
nour and Esteem: The Excellence whereof was so  
rightly apprehended by the *Latins*, that they gave  
it the Title of Virtue by way of Singularity and *Virtus*.  
Eminence. It is of all others the hardest to be at-  
tained, the most pompous and splendid, and pro-  
duces the greatest and most illustrious Fruits. Mag-  
nanimity and Patience, Constancy, and invincible  
Perseverance, and the rest of that Heroick Cata-  
logue of Godlike Excellencies are all contained un-  
der it. For which Reason, Men greedy of Fame,  
have oftentimes not only entertained Calamities glad-  
ly, but have even courted and eagerly sought out  
Hardships and Dangers, to gain thereby the greater  
Opportunities of exercising it, and exerting them-  
selves. It is an impregnable Bulwark, a compleat  
Armour tempered and proved: † *The Fortification,*  
*behind which human Nature lies securely intrenched,*  
*and he who hath cast up this Work about him, holds*  
*out the Siege of Life, and can never be taken, or dis-*  
*mantled.*

But now, in regard that this Matter is not rightly  
understood, and many false Pretenders to this Virtue  
are set up, which are not really of the right Line,  
it may not be amiss to expatiate a little more upon  
the true Nature of Fortitude, and in so doing, to  
discover and reject the vulgar Errors concerning it.

\* *Timendorum contemptrix, quæ terribilia, & sub jugum*  
*libertatem nostram mittentia despicit, provocat, frangit.*

† *Munimentum imbecillitatis humanæ inexpugnabile, quod*  
*qui circumdedit sibi, securus in hac vita obsidione perdurat.*

BOOK III. We will therefore observe four Conditions, which are all of them requisite to the forming of this Virtue, and if what would pass for such be defective in any one of them, that we may be sure is counterfeit, and of a Bastard Race.

As first of all, true Courage is universal, that is, it makes a brave stand against every kind of Difficulty and Danger without Distinction; and this shews us the mighty Mistake of confining this Notion of Courage to Military Valour only: That indeed gains Esteem with the generality of People, because it makes more Shew and Noise in the World, and yet oftentimes there is nothing of Substance or Solidity at the bottom of it. Now allowing Military Valour all that can possibly belong to it, yet at best it is but one Part, and that a small one neither; a single Ray of that Glory which the true and entire, the perfect, and universal Valour, sheds round about it. For by this a Man is the same thing alone that he is in Company; the same brave Man upon a Bed of Languishing and Pain, as in the Field and Heat of Action, and marches up against Death with all his Friends and Relations looking on, and lamenting his Fate, as he would at the Head of an Army, when animated by the Shouts of those that assist in the Engagement. This military and fighting Courage, is more peculiar and natural to brute Beasts; and among them, we find accordingly, that the Female Sex have it in common with the Males. But in Men it is frequently the Effect of Art, rather than any Tendency in Nature, kindled by the Dread of Captivity and ill Usage; by the evident Necessity of doing bravely in their own Defence, and the certain Prospect of Death or Wounds, Poverty, or Pain, or Punishment, if they do otherwise



wife. All which have not any Influence upon Beasts, CHAP. XIX  
 nor do they lie under the least Apprehension of  
 them. The Courage of Men is a sort of wise Cow-  
 ardice; and we commonly say, that *every Man would*  
*be a Coward if he durst.* It is Fear attended with  
 Skill to shun one Evil by another, and Anger is the  
 Liquor that tempers the Fire that sharpens it; but  
 in Brutes it is genuine, and pure, undefigning and  
 unconstrained. Men arrive at some sort of Mastery  
 and Perfection in it by Custom and long Acquaint-  
 ance, by Instruction, Education and Example; up-  
 on which Account it is that we find it sometimes  
 among the meanest, ignorant, and most degenerate  
 sort of People. A Footman that hath run away  
 from his Master, an Apprentice from behind a Coun-  
 ter, a Villain out of a common Goal, shall very  
 often make a good Soldier, stand a Charge, and do  
 Duty very well, and yet have no such thing as real  
 Fortitude; there is not the least Tincture or Spark  
 of Virtue or Philosophical Bravery in all this Fire.

The second necessary Ingredient in this noble  
 Composition is a full and distinct Knowledge of the  
 Difficulty, the Toil, the Danger that assaults us in  
 our Undertaking; and also of the Beauty, the De-  
 cency, the Justice, and the Obligation of attempt-  
 ing vigorously, or constantly and patiently endur-  
 ing what we are called to at that Time: And this  
 discovers the Folly and Mistake of confounding this  
 Courage (as some do) with giddy unthinking Rash-  
 ness; or else with Fool-hardiness, and a brutal In-  
 sensibility. \* *It is by no means (says Seneca) an in-*  
*considerate Forwardness, not a fondness of Danger, nor*

\* Non est inconsulta temeritas, nec periculorum amor, nec  
 formidabilium appetitio; diligentissima in tutelâ sua fortitudo  
 est: Et eadem patientissima eorum quibus falsa species malo-  
 rum est.

BOOK III. *a Desire of those Accidents, which strike a Terror in to common Men: Fortitude is provident and careful, and diligent in her own Defence, and yet she is extremely patient and resigned under those things which are (commonly, but falsely) reputed Evils.* There cannot possibly be any such thing as Virtue, where there is no Knowledge, no Apprehension, and a Man cannot with any good Sense be said to despise that Danger which he knows not, and does not rightly understand. For at this rate we cannot refuse the Honour of this Virtue to Brutes; who in every Part which concern the Action or the Suffering, do equal, if not exceed the stoutest Men, and yield to us in no Point, but that of foreseeing and making a true Estimate of our Danger: For Valour distinguishes it self particularly by going on with our Eyes open, and not running blindfold; and accordingly we find by Experience, that those who undertake boldly, without regarding, or duly weighing what is like to come on't, commonly flinch and sneak, and prove errand Dastards, when they are driven to a Push.

A third Ingredient necessary to be taken notice of in the Character of Fortitude, is, that it is Resolution and Firmness of Mind founded upon solid and good Principles; the Sense of Duty, the Honesty and Justice of the Undertaking, and such other Motives; and this too such a Resolution as never wavers or abates, whatever the Event be, but persists with unmoveable Generosity, till either the Design be brought to Perfection, or the Life lost in the Attempt. The Mention of this Qualification may at first sight seem somewhat superfluous in the former Part of the Description, but it is in reality seasonable and of good Use; and that, as upon it

own

own Account, so more especially, because it gives CHAP. XIX.  
us an Occasion to obviate two or three very  
gross and common Mistakes, with relation to this  
Matter :

As first, some have so odd, so stupid a Notion  
of Fortitude, as to place it in bodily Strength, the  
Structure of the Man, and the Largeness of his  
Limbs. But alas! this is no Excellence belonging  
to the Body, not the Stiffness of the Muscles, the  
Knitting of the Joints, or the Size of an Arm, or a  
Leg, but a Quality peculiar to the Soul, and entirely  
residing there. The Worth of a Man is to be  
computed from his Heart, and his Will; there it is  
that his true Honour is to be found, and the only  
Advantage; the true and compleat Victory to be  
gained over an Enemy, is the shaking his Constancy,  
driving away his Resolution, subjecting him to  
Terror and Disorder, and putting his Virtue to  
flight. All other Advantages are either fictitious  
and imaginary, or else borrowed, and not properly  
ours; the Lustiness and Strength of a Leg and an  
Arm, is an Excellence fit for a Porter only to boast  
of: To force our Enemy to give way, or en-  
gage him in a disadvantageous Ground, is not a  
Commendation belonging to us, but to Fortune.  
He that continues his Courage to the last, and  
slackens not one whit of his Gallantry and Con-  
stancy, at the approach of Danger or Death, you  
may call him beaten, if you please; but then it is  
not his Adversary, but the Chance of War that beats  
him; and if he happen to fall in the Engagement,  
he is killed, I confess, but he is not conquered. If  
Fate be too blame, he is not; for tho' he die unfor-  
tunately, yet he does not die cowardly and basely:  
For the gallantest Men cannot command Events  
answerable



Book III. answerable to their Merits, and very frequently are less successful than others. Another Error yet more senseless than the former, is the looking upon those that are stout and brave, who swagger, and strut, and talk big, and by a contemptuous Air, a stern Countenance, and vain boasts, would fain get the Reputation of Valour. But these do not often meet with People silly enough to be frightned into such an Opinion; and when the Bully comes to be tried, a Difference is soon seen between a Hector and a Hero.

Nor are they less deceived, who give the Title of Valour to Subtilty and Stratagem, or to Industry and Art: This is too sacrilegious a Prophanation to bring in Courage acting so mean and sneaking a Part: These are Tricks and Disguises, and would put false Stones upon the undiscerning World for true Jewels. The *Lacedemonians*, who bred their Youth to Wrestling, would not suffer Masters in any of their Cities, that so their warlike Exercises, and growing expert in them, might be entirely Nature's Work, and that Art might usurp no part of the Glory. We count it a bold and brave Undertaking to encounter Bears, or Lions, or wild Boars, who have nothing but their natural Fierceness to render them formidable; but the same Commendation is not reckoned due to one that engages with Bees and Wasps, who watch their Advantage, and go cunningly to work. *Alexander* would never play at the Olympick Games; for the Strife, he said, was not well contrived, where a private Man of no Soul might come off with Applause, and a King with a great one might be thrown out with Disgrace. There is no manner of Reason why a Man of Honour should value himself, or offer to put his Valour upon a Proof, which the errantest Coward in the World, if he be better taught,

taught, and dextrous at his Weapon, shall be able to baffle him in : For such a Conquest is in no degree owing to Courage, or true Virtue, but to Activity of Body, and some particular Motions, which are purely the Effect of Artifice and Address; such as the basest and most timorous may excel in, and such as a truly valiant Person may either not know how to perform, or may think it beneath him to descend to them. Fencing particularly is such an Advantage, the bravest may be utterly unskilful in it, and the most despicable Wretches may be Masters of it. And how many Scoundrels do we see in every Street, ready to draw upon all Occasions; how many Cheats that play Prizes, and hack one another for Money, who would not stand one Charge at the approach of an Enemy? The same may be said of that Assurance and Presence of Mind which proceeds from habitual Exercise and long Custom. How many hazardous things do Tumblers and Rope-dancers, and Seamen do, without the least Concern? Not that these Men are really more valiant than others, or dare venture farther into Danger, but because this is their own way, what they have been bred up in, and accustomed to from Children, and Practice hath worn out those Apprehensions which a gallanter Man would have, who is raw and unexperienced in the Trade.

One very wrong Notion more it is fit I should mention upon this Occasion; that I mean, which, for want of observing nicely the Springs by which Men are moved, and the true Source of each Action, does very absurdly put all that to the Account of Bravery and Courage, which is in truth a Weakness, and owing meerly to Heat of Passion, or a zealous Concern for some particular Interest : For

BOOK III. as a Man cannot deserve to have his Virtues commended in point of Justice, for being faithful and serviceable to those he dearly loves, nor in point of Chastity, for not abusing his own Daughter, or Sister; nor in point of Liberality, for being bountiful to his Wife and Children; so neither may he pretend to any just Honour in point of Valour, for exposing himself resolutely to those Dangers which Anger, or Revenge, Interest, or private Satisfaction thrust him upon. If therefore Avarice shall make a Man bold, as it does Spies and Traitors, Robbers and Villains, Merchants at Sea, or Soldiers of Fortune, that fight purely for Pay; if Ambition and vain Glory, an Itch to get the Name of a brave Man, kindle the spark of Honour as they call it, which may very reasonably be presumed to be the Cause of a great many Men of the Sword (who will not scruple to own sometimes, that if they could be verily persuaded they should die in the Attack, nothing should ever bring them on) if they prove peevish and discontented, weary of Living, or worn out with Pain, like *Antigonus's* Soldier, who whilst in violent Torment with a Fistula, ventured at all, but when the Disease was cured, and he in perfect Health again, could never be got to face an Enemy more. In a Word, if there be nothing but some particular Humour, or selfish and foreign Consideration at the bottom, how fair soever the Exploits that are built upon this may look, yet still the Foundation hath a Flaw, and consequently, call the Thing what else you will, but while it is defective in so very material a Part, you must not be allowed to call it Valour or Virtue.

I proceed now to the fourth Qualification of this noble Excellence, and that is Prudence and Discretion

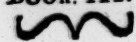


cretion in the executive Part : Which being once admitted, several other false Opinions relating to this Matter are from thenceforth out of Doors; such particularly are these that follow: That a Man, who is really courageous, should not use any Defence to shelter himself from the Evils and Inconveniencies which threaten him; that he should never be in fear of a Surprise, nor be solicitous to make Provision against it; that he should not so much as feel the least Shock or Impressions of Disorder from any thing more than ordinary, or that happens unawares, as a Clap of Thunder, the Discharge of a Cannon-shot, or the tumbling down of a Breach. Now all this is monstrously foolish and absurd; for a Man of Fortitude is allowed to take all imaginable Care of his own Preservation, and to have as quick and sensible Resentments of all Accidents whatsoever, as any other Person. Nor is this the least Disparagement or Reflection upon his Virtues, provided he be not daunted and dismayed, but keep up his Mind in the same Steadiness of Temper, and do not depart from his Reason and Resolution. Nay, it is not only his Right and Privilege, but his Duty and just Commendation, to wheel and decline, and defend himself from Harms, so long as there are any honest Shifts, and decent Remedies left; but when there are none, then he must stand his Ground, receive the worst that can come, and dare to suffer any thing rather than to do what is vicious or unbecoming his Character, for the Prevention or Escape of it: He must then, like *Aeneas*, obey the Commands from \* above at any Rate, for so we find him described by the Poet:

\* *Mens immota manet, lachrymæ voluntur inanes.*

Yyyy

*Sighs,*



*Sighs, Groans, and Tears, are all employ'd in vain,  
Firm the Resolves of his unbroken Mind remain.*

*Socrates* therefore used to laugh at those idle Men who condemned all Flight, and giving of Ground, as inconsistent with Fortitude. *What?* says he, *shall a Man be reproached with Cowardize, for defeating his Enemy, because this was done by retreating from before him?* *Homer*, among the other heroick Excellencies of *Ulysses*, puts this of Skill in retreating into his Character. The *Lacedemonians*, who pretended to the most obstinate Courage of any Nation in the World, yet in that renowned Action of *Platea* gave Ground, on purpose to break the *Persian* Troops, and disorder them in the Pursuit. This was an Advantage which they had no other way of compassing, and the Success answered the Wisdom of the Design; for they won the Day by this Feint of losing it. In a Word, the most warlike Countries in the World have given it Authority, and never thought themselves dishonoured by the Practice. Nay, even the *Stoicks*, after all their impracticable and romantick Stretches of humane Nature, are content to allow their wise Man, so far as looking pale, and shivering at new and surprising Accidents; provided this be only a bodily Affection, and that it do not enter so deep, or last so long, as to give the Soul any part of the Disorder.

And thus much may suffice to possess us with a true Idea of Fortitude, or Courage in general.

*Of the particular Objects and Exercise of Fortitude.*

NOW that we may cut our Work out, and CHAP. XIX.  
lay it in due Order, it is necessary, in the  
first Place, that I put my Reader in remembrance,  
that this Virtue undertakes to deal with all that  
(whatever it be) which is called Evil, according  
to the most popular and extensive Signification of  
the Word. Now this Evil is of two Sorts, either  
External, or Internal. The former is that which  
assaults us from without, and goes by great variety  
of Names; such as, Adversity, Afflictions, Injuries,  
Misfortunes, Casualties, or unwelcome Accidents.  
The other arises from within, and hath its Resi-  
dence in the Soul; but it is excited and agitated by  
the Evil from without: Such particularly are those  
Passions which disturb and discontent us, as Fear,  
Grief, Anger, and the rest of that black, disorderly  
Crew. It will be proper for us to speak to each part of  
this Division fully and distinctly; to explain their  
Operations, to provide Men with proper Remedies  
and sufficient Means for the subduing, and softning,  
and regulating these Grievances: And such are the  
Arguments and Directions for the Virtue of Forti-  
tude, now under our Consideration. Consequently  
then, what you are to expect upon this Subject will  
consist of two Parts; the one respecting the Cala-  
mities and disastrous Accidents of our Lives, the  
other concerning the Passions which these Acci-  
dents provoke, and stimulate in our Minds. And  
here my Reader must recollect, that the general Di-  
rections thought necessary for the bearing good or  
ill Fortune decently, he hath been supplied with al-  
ready. So that referring him back to the second



BOOK III. Book, for what regards Prosperity and Adversity in the  
 Book II. gross, he is only to expect now, that we should de-  
 Chap. 7. scend to the particular sorts of Misfortunes, and what  
 is fit to be prescribed for each of them respectively.

## C H A P. XX.

*Of External Evils.*

1. **W**E may consider these external Evils, in three several respects. First, with regard to the Causes or Occasions of them (which shall make the Subject of this Chapter) next in their Effects; and lastly, with regard to what they are in themselves; where I shall treat of the several Species of them distinctly. And under each of these Heads, I will make it my Endeavour to lay down such Rules and Directions as may sustain us under, and fortify us against them.

The Causes or Occasions of these afflicting Accidents, which are capable of happening to every one of us, may be publick or general, when they affect a great many at the same time; when whole Kingdoms, or Neighbourhoods at least are involved at once; such as Pestilence, Famine, War, Tyranny, and Oppression: And these, for the most part, are Rods of the divine Vengeance; Scourges sent by him to chastise the exorbitant Wickedness of obstinate Men, who refuse to be won over by gentler Methods of Reformation (at least we know not what immediate Cause to ascribe them to) or else they are private Calamities, and such as we are able to trace up to their first Author and Original; that is, they are inflicted and brought upon us by some other Person: And thus both the private and publick Misfortunes are of two Sorts. Now the publick

lick Calamities, those I mean which proceed from a general Cause; though they do really come home to each single Person, yet are they in different respects more or less grievous, important and dangerous, than the private ones, of which we are able to give a distinct and particular Account. They are more so, because they assault us with united Force, fall on in Troops, and with great Violence make a louder Noise, rage more horribly, have a longer and blacker Train of ill Consequences attending them, are more perplexing and amazing, and create greater Disorders, and a more general Confusion. But then they are less so too, in regard of their being thus general, and for the Numbers which are involved in them together: For when a Disaster is common, every Man is apt to think his own Share of it the less. It is some kind of Comfort to think that we are not singled out for Examples; and for this Reason, the Efficacy of such Corrections is usually the less; for every Man takes Sanctuary in the commonness of the Calamity, and imputes it to some universal Disorder in Nature, or to some unusual Concurrence of natural Causes, and so shelters himself in the Crowd by vain Pretences, which personal Afflictions leave no room for: And besides, daily Experience shews, that the Evils brought upon us by other Men, gall us more sensibly, and go nearer to the quick, and have a greater Influence upon our Minds than any of the former sort are wont to do. Now all these, both of the one and the other Sort, have several proper Remedies and Considerations, to qualify and render them very supportable to us, as particularly these that follow.

When we have any publick Calamities to encounter, it will become us very seriously to reflect whence they come, and by whom they are sent.

Y y y y 3

Th at

BOOK III. That the Cause and Author of them is God, an omnipotent and all-wise Providence, whose Pleasure we are subject to, and have an absolute and entire Dependence upon; that he governs and disposes all things, and holds those vain Men in Derision who *hope to burst his Bands asunder, and to cast away his Cords from them*; that we and all the whole Creation are tied by Laws of an invincible Necessity; and that the strongest Combinations, nay, the universal joint Strength of the whole World, is much too weak to reverse or resist his Will. Most certain it is, that Providence and Necessity, or Destiny, when we speak strictly and properly, are but one and the same thing; there is no essential Difference between them, or the Laws upon which they proceed; and all they vary in, is only as to those different Respects which we are used to consider and reason upon them in. Now to murmur and repine, and torment ourselves, that Matters are not otherwise ordered with us, is first of all an Impiety peculiar to Mankind; for all other Creatures submit quietly and contentedly, and Man only hath the Insolence to be angry, and find fault, and fly out into saucy Passions and discontented Complaints against his Maker. But besides the Wickedness of the thing, it is extremely foolish; for all this Rage is to no manner of Purpose, nor does it mend the Matter one whit. Our Mistress is absolute, and her Power (as I said) uncontrollable, and those who draw back the Shoulder, and will not follow her contentedly, she will drag him along whether he will or no.

*\* This is the Obligation we are bound by, the Allegi-*

*\* Ad hoc sacramentum adacti sumus; ferre mortalia, nec iis perturbari, quæ vitare nostræ potestatis non est. In regno nati sumus. Deo parere libertas est. Desine fata Deum flecti sperare querendo.*



ance we all owe, to bear the Casualties of this mortal State, and not to be disturbed at things which it is not in our Power to avoid: We are born under Government, but it is that of a gracious and good King, whom to serve and submit to, is the only, the true Way to make us free. CHAP. XIX.

*Fate and the dooming Gods are deaf to Tears.*

Mr. Dryden.

The best Remedy our Case is capable of, is to conform ourselves to Providence; to bring our Will to that of Almighty God, and so make a Virtue of Necessity, which is the Advice human Wisdom would give in this Case; for \* *the only Way we can take to escape the Hardship, is to be content with what we cannot help.* We may parry and play in Guard, but all this fencing against our Fate will not ward off the Blow, but only irritate the Wound, and add to the Anguish. † *You should bear whatever happens chearfully, as if you had wished it might happen; for the Truth is, could you have known before-hand, that God designed it for you, it would have been your Duty to wish for it.* Again, besides that we shall come off easier by this Means, we shall likewise have the Satisfaction of doing our Duty, which is to follow our Leader, and obey Orders, let the Service, or the Post he commands us upon, be what it will. ‡ *The best thing you can do, is to submit to what you cannot cure, and to attend and follow Almighty God without murmuring or disputing, for it is by his*

\* Non est aliud effugium necessitatis, quàm velle quod ipse cogat.

† Læto animo ferre quicquid acciderit, quasi volueris tibi accidere; debuisses enim velle, si scires ex decreto Dei fieri.

‡ Optimum pati quod emendare non possis; & Deum, quo Authore cuncta proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari: malus miles est qui Imperatorem gemens sequitur. Senec.

Y y y 4

Appointment

BOOK III. *appointment that all things come to pass; and he is a very bad Soldier who follows his General grumbling.*

This Resignation of Spirit is so far from betraying any Tameness or Degeneracy, that it is directly otherwise; and such Submission proves the Excellency of our Courage. Grumbling and Disputing is the effect of Cowardize and Fear; it is mutinying against our Officer, and running from our Colours. \* *Mean and little Souls flutter and struggle, and repine; but they who do so, have not a very reverend Opinion of the Government of the World; for the plain English of these Discontents is, that such Men are more solicitous to amend God's Works than their own.*

3. The first thing to be done for the Relief of private Evils, and such as other People bring upon us, and which we are apt to be very sensibly affected with, is, nicely and truly to distinguish them, that we may not have loose confused Ideas, and so be led into Misapprehensions about them. Now of these, some are displeasing, and others are offensive to us. We oftentimes conceive a Displeasure at Persons who have been guilty of no Offence, neither intentionally, nor actually; as when they either ask us, or deny us something upon very good Reasons, which was at that time unseasonable, or inconvenient for us or them: We are all apt to be out of Humour upon such Occasions, and yet there is no Offence given, no Injury done: For Offences, we must know, are of two Sorts, some cross our Designs, and perplex our Affairs, by offering somewhat contrary to Equity and good Conscience, and this is injuring us: Others have nothing to do with

\* Magnus animus qui se Deo reddidit; pusillus & degener, qui oblectatur; de ordine mundi malè existimat, & emendare mavult Deum, quam se.

our Concerns, but are directed to, and terminate in CHAP. XX.  
our Persons, which are thereby contemptuously used,  
or otherwise ill treated, and this Treatment may be  
either in Words or Actions; these are more gra-  
ting, and harder to be born than any other sort of  
Affliction whatsoever.

The first and general Advice against all these sorts  
of Evils is, to establish our Minds in a firm Re-  
solution not to be carried away by common Opi-  
nions; to consider things not as the World esteems  
of them, but as they really are; weighing them  
and their Consequences in the just Balance of Rea-  
son and Truth: For the generality of Mankind are  
tamely led by the Nose, wholly governed by Pre-  
judice and Impression. How many of those who  
call themselves Men of Honour, think it a less Af-  
front to have a dangerous Wound given them, than  
a Box on the Ear, and had rather die upon the Spot,  
than hear opprobrious Language? In short, Opini-  
on measures and judges of every thing; and it is not  
so much the thing it self, as the Opinion Men have  
of it, that provokes our Indignation; our own Im-  
patience does us more Hurt, and creates us more Un-  
easiness than the Persons who have occasioned it:  
So that we our selves are more injurious to our selves  
than ever those we complain of were to us.

As for the other Rules, and such as are more par-  
ticular to our Case, these may be deduced first of  
all from our selves (and here indeed we ought first  
to look, and fix our Thoughts) for these Offences  
may perhaps be owing to our own Defects, or Faults,  
or Infirmities. Perhaps what was said or done is  
only a little Raillery, grounded upon some Defect in  
our Person, which they had a mind to mimick or  
expose. And how foolish is it for us to be out of  
Humour



BOOK III. Humour at that which is none of our Fault? The best way to cut off Occasion from those who converse with, and prevent their taking any Advantage of this kind, is to be before-hand with them, by mentioning first our selves; that they may perceive we are sensible of the thing our selves, and that it is not in their Power to mortify us, by reproaching a Defect which we did not know before: If any Fault of ours gave the Occasion, and we have deserved this Affront, what Foundation can here be for Passion and Resentment? It is then no longer an Offence, but a Correction and just Reprimand, and we ought to receive it as a Chastisement, and improve under it accordingly. But very frequently, and indeed generally our Peevishness and Discontent arises from some Weakness of our own, which renders us jealous and humourous. Now the way to cure this, is to correct our own Captiousness, and be less nice and tender in those Points of Honour which are so uneasy to our selves and to other People; to arm our selves with a masculine Greatness of Soul, and despise the little Follies and Indiscretions of the Company we converse with. It is a shrewd Presumption that a Man is not sound, when he roars out every Time you touch him: And we must never expect to be easy as long as we live, if we take Exceptions at every trifling thing, every little Freedom that passes in Conversation.

6. Another sort of Direction may be taken from the Persons at whom we are offended: Let us form to our own Minds a general Representation of those we live among, and see what their Humour, their Disposition and Way is. The greater Part of Mankind find their chief Satisfaction in doing ill, and make a Computation of their Power by the Privilege

lege it gives them, to be insolent and injurious to CHAP. XX.  
other People. Those who delight in Innocence and Goodness are but very few in Comparison : This therefore we ought to reckon upon as a never-failing Conclusion, that which way soever we turn our selves, we should be sure to meet with somebody or other disposed to give us Offence : For where-soever we meet with Men, it is odds but we meet with Injuries and Affronts among them. This is so sure, so ruled a Case, that even Law-givers themselves, whose peculiar Business it is to reform the World, in their Measures for distributive and commutative Justice, have found a Necessity of allowing and conniving at several Irregularities which were never to be prevented. Now this Necessity of giving and taking Offence arises, first of all, from the Contrariety and Inconsistence of Humours and Inclinations ; from hence we are able to account for many Offences taken, which were never intended to be given. Then again from the Coincidence or Opposition of Mens Interests and Affairs, which is the Occasion that the same thing which contributes to the Pleasure or Profit, or Happiness of some, tends to the Dissatisfaction, or Detriment, or Mischief of others : And according to all the Ideas we are all able to form of the World in its present Circumstances, thus it must be, and we cannot discern how it should be otherwise. If the Person who gave you Offence, be a foolish, or rash unthinking Man ( and such to be sure he is, for a wise and good Man will be offensive to no body ) why do you complain of a thing done by one who hath not his Wits about him ? You bear with a mad Man, nay, you are so far from being angry, that you pity him ; you laugh at a Buffoon, or  
a Child

BOOK III. a Child; and I pray how is a drunken Man or  
 W a Fool, a cholerick or an indiscreet Man, more  
 worth your Anger than any of those? When such  
 Fellows therefore let loose their Tongues upon you,  
 the best way is to make no Reply: Hold your  
 Tongue, and leave Matters there. It is a brave and  
 noble, yea and a cruel Revenge too, which we take  
 upon a Fool, in disregarding and despising him;  
 it robs him of all the Pleasure he promised himself  
 by provoking us to Passion, and plainly declares,  
 that we think him an impertinent and insignificant  
 Wretch, better than all the sharpest Repartees would  
 possibly express it. If we reply, this debases us, and  
 is a sort of entring into Comparison with him; it is  
 the shewing him too much Respect, and doing an  
 Injury to our selves. For *\*they give ill Language, be-  
 cause they cannot tell how to give better; they act as  
 they use to do, and according to the best of their Un-  
 derstanding; for the worse they behave themselves, the  
 more consistent they are, and more of a piece with them-  
 selves.*

7. Now the Counsel which Wisdom would give in  
 the Case is most certainly such as this. You must  
 have a due Consideration both of your self, and of  
 the Person who gives you the Offence: As to your  
 self, take care not to be guilty of a thing so misbe-  
 coming, so very much below you, as the suffering  
 your self to be overcome, and put besides your Rea-  
 son. The imprudent Man who seems to suspect him-  
 self, and flies out into Rage upon every Trifle, de-  
 clares by this Carriage, that he looks upon himself  
 fit to be affronted; for indeed, it is meanness and  
 littleness of Soul, or a Consciousness of our own In-

\* Malè loquuntur quia benè loqui nesciunt; faciunt quod  
 solent & sciunt, malè quia mali, & secundum se.



sufficiency, that hinders us from being above Resentments of this kind, and despising what we are sensible does not belong to us. A wise and good Man is not capable of being injured, but is firm, secure, and inviolable; for the Quality that renders any thing inviolable, is not the being above the Power or Force of Men, but above the being broken or made the worse for it: And nothing would fortify us more against every manner of Accident than the possessing our Souls with this Maxim, that we can never be hurt indeed, but by our own selves; if our Reason be what it ought, and our Actions according to it, we are invulnerable. Hence it was, that *Socrates* hath taught us what Comforts to apply in such Extremities by his own Example. *Anitus and Melitus may kill me*, says he, *but they cannot hurt me*. And thus a good Man, as he is not capable of Ill within, and will not offer any, so he is impenetrable from without, and cannot suffer any real Injury: Virtue is a Wall of Brass; the Scoffs and Affronts are all repulsed or lodged there, and not one of them comes through to touch his Person; and to all this Self-security we may likewise add another Consideration from the Opinion and Esteem of the World; for there is no body but will look upon the Aggressor as a very ill Man, and upon the Patient as one not deserving to be so treated: As to the Party who hath thus affronted you, if you esteem him no better than an impertinent or idle Fellow, use him accordingly, and shew that you value him not, by a generous Disdain; if he be otherwise, you should plead his Excuse to your self; you ought to presume that he had (or at least apprehended that he had) Occasion for what he did; that it was not done out of any malicious Design, but through Inadvertency or Mistake,

want

BOOK III. want of Breeding, or some other very pardonable Defect; if not so, then you may be confident he hath seen his Error, is angry at himself for it, and wishes most heartily it had never been done. Once more let me add, that we ought to play the good Husbands, and make the most of Injuries and Offences; for indeed they are no small Advantages which these put into our Hands: Particularly, they are capable of turning to a good Account two Ways, with regard to each of the Parties concerned in them. For *First*, with regard to the Person who did the Injury, this hath discovered the Man to us; we have seen a little more of the World; we know such a one too well to trust him another time, and have fair Warning to avoid him ever after. But then, *Secondly*, they help us to know our selves too; shew us our own Infirmities, our Breaches and blind Sides, where the Foe may get within us, and what we cannot hold out against; and this gives us Warning to work upon those Breaches, and put them in a defensible Condition against the next Attack upon us. Let us learn to amend that Fault too which occasioned the Abuse, that no other Man may have the like Provocation to reproach us hereafter: This is the true way of defeating the Malice of others, and doing Right to our selves; for what nobler Revenge can a Man take upon his Enemies, than to turn their Injuries and Affronts to his own Profit, and to learn more Prudence and Conduct, and to grow the wiser and better, more cautious and inoffensive, by being ill used. The World at this rate is an excellent School; and the more unreasonable Men are, the more a Man of good Sense and Temper may improve himself even under their unjust Corrections.

C H A P. XXI.

*Of external Evils, with regard to their Fruits  
and Effects.*

**H**AVING thus considered the Causes, let us now CHAP. XXI. enquire into the Effects of our Evils, and what Fruits they produce; where again we shall meet with very powerful Antidotes and substantial Remedies against them. Now these Effects are many and great, general and particular.

The general Effects are such as concern the Good, the Support, the Order, and Improvement of the Universe. The World would be quite stifled and choaked up, it would stagnate and putrify, if it were not sometimes stirred and changed, and put into a new Form by such important and alterative Accidents, as Plagues, and Famines, and War, and Mortality: These are the Things that prune and purge it, and throw down that Product which over-burdens the Soil, and by so doing they preserve the rest, and give them Elbow-room; for were there no such Evacuations, we should not be able to move and live by one another. But then consider the grateful Varieties and Vicissitudes, the regular Successions and alternate Changes by which the World is thus adorned and beautified, every part of the World finds some Convenience by these Alterations: For from Nations and Men coming to be transplanted, by such Means the barbarous, and wild and savage Part of Mankind are polished and civilized; Arts and Sciences, Learning and Policy are spread wider, and communicated to every Part of the habitable Earth; so that we are to look upon the Universe as one large Plantation, where some Trees are removed to a more convenient Soil, others are graft-



Book III. ed and inoculated, others cut down to the Root, that they make more regular Shoots by the loss of superfluous Suckers, others quite plucked up; but all this done in such Order by the skilful Cultivater, that every thing tends to the Profit and Beauty of the Ground. These Enlargements of our Thoughts and Considerations of universal Advantage, ought to content every wise and good Man, and prevent irreverend Reflections upon those wonderful Works of God, which Men are too apt to accuse for barbarous and disorderly, or to look upon with Amazement, as strange and unaccountable. It is enough that they are the Ordinances of God and Nature, and ought to satisfy us, that how odd soever they may appear with regard to that little Spot of Ground, which is commanded by our own Eye, yet they do great and signal Service to the whole. For would we extend our Prospect, we should quickly discern, that what is lost in one Place is gained in another, or rather indeed, to speak more properly, that nothing is lost any where, but all conduces to the just Variety and Convenience of the World in general. \* *A wise Man, says one, will take nothing amiss that happens to him; for he will observe, that those very things by which his particular Interests seem to suffer, are expedient, and greatly contribute to the Preservation of the whole; and that these are the Methods by which the Course of the World is continued, and every Part of it brought to its just and necessary Perfection.*

2. The particular and personal Effects of these Evils are different, according to the various Tempers and

\* Vir sapiens nihil indignetur sibi accidere, sciatque illa ipsa, quibus lædi videtur ad conservationem universi pertinere, & ex his esse quæ cursum mundi officiumque consummant.

Conditions

Conditions of the Men to whom they happen. To the Good they are an Exercise and Trial to those that are Fallen, a Relief and Recovery, a Warning and Call to them that go astray; and to the obstinately Wicked, a Dispensation of Punishment and Vengeance. Of each of these Uses, I shall say but one Word or two very briefly.

And first, these external Evils provide the good Men excellent Opportunities of exerting and improving their Virtue, which would otherwise want Matter to work upon, and lie idle and undiscerned. A good Man under Affliction, is in the same Circumstances with Fencers in their Schools, or Mariners in a Storm, or Soldiers in an Action, or Philosophers in their Academy; that is, he is upon his proper Duty, attending the Business of his Profession, and shewing his Skill in it; for these are the very Methods that instruct, and enter, and form, and finish him in Virtue, that establish him in Constancy and Courage, and enable him to conquer and triumph over Fortune and the World: They bring him acquainted with himself, make him know his own Strength by frequent Experiments; tell him what he may depend upon; and promise himself from it; nor do they only give him a true Representation of his past and present Condition, but they help to amend it too; they encourage and confirm his Resolutions of doing well, harden and accustom him to suffering, fix and determine his Mind, secure his past Conquests, and render him Invincible for the Time to come: Whereas on the contrary, a long Calm of Prosperity is exceeding apt to soften and enervate Mens Minds, and to corrupt them by Ease and Leisure, Carelessness and Sloth, Inactivity and long Disuse. *Demetrius*, for this Reason,

Zzzz

son,

BOOK III. son, used to say, that of all Men living he thought none so truly miserable as those who had never met with Disappointments, and Crosses, and trying Afflictions, and compared their Life to the dead Sea, where there is a perpetual Stagnation, and noxious Vapours breed and reign for want of Winds, and a vigorous Commotion of the Waters to break and disperse, and drive them away.

3. To Delinquents and inconsiderate Offenders, these Afflictions are a Check and Curb to hold them in, and prevent the wild and furious Sallies of Vice unrestrained; or else a Rebuke and Chastisement, the Rod of an affectionate, but provoked Father, to reduce and reclaim them, that they may be more considerate and mindful of their Duty hereafter, and abandon utterly those Courses which have cost them so much Smart and Pain. Thus it is with our Minds as with our Bodies; and the Health of both is consulted by the same Applications. These Sufferings are like the breathing of a Vein, and seasonable Physick sometimes made use of as Preservatives, to prevent the Gathering of ill Humours, and divert them another way; at other Times as Correctives and Restoratives, to purge the corrupted Mass, and carry off a Disease already formed.

To the obstinate and incorrigible they are a Punishment and Plague, a Sickle to cut those down speedily whose Iniquities are ripe for Destruction, or else to make them more lingering and languishing Spectacles of Vengeance. And thus you may plainly discern very excellent and necessary Effects of the Troubles Men are used so bitterly to complain of, such as may abundantly convince us how erroneous that Opinion is which looks upon such Dispensations as Evils, and ought to prevail upon us to entertain



entertain them with Patience and a becoming Temper of Mind, to take them in good part as the Instances and Operations of the divine Justice: And not only so, but to welcome them gladly as the useful Instruments and sure Pledges of the Tenderness and Love, and careful Providence of God, and especially using our utmost Diligence to benefit under them, and to answer the Intention of that wise and kind Being, in whose Disposal all these Things are, and who distributes them according to his own good Pleasure, and as they may be most suitable to every Man's Occasions.

CHAP. XXI.  
~

ADVERTISEMENT.

Of External Evils considered in themselves particularly.

*ALL these Evils, which are many in Number, and various in their Kinds, are so many Privations of some contrary Good; for so much indeed is implied in the very Name and Nature of Evil: Consequently the general Heads of Evil must answer and be equal to the several Heads or Species of Good. Now these may very properly be reduced to Seven. Sicknefs and Pain (for these being bodily Indispositions, I join them together as one) Captivity, Banishment, Want, Disgrace, Loss of Friends, and Death. The good Things we are deprived of in the forementioned Circumstances every one sees very plainly to be Health, Liberty, our native Country, Wealth, Honour, Friends and Life; each of which we have had Occasion to treat of at large in the foregoing Parts of this Treatise: All therefore that remains to be done at present, is to prescribe such Antidotes against these as are proper to them*  
Z. z z z 2
respectively;

BOOK. III. *respectively; and that very briefly and plainly, without any nice or formal Reasoning upon the Case.*

## C H A P. XXII.

## Of SICKNESS and PAIN.

Book I.  
Chap. 6.

**I**T hath been observed in the beginning of this Treatise, that Pain is the greatest, and in good Truth the only Evil attending this mortal Body of ours; the most sensible, the most insupportable, that which is least to be cured, least to be dealt with or asswaged by Consideration. But still, though this be not altogether so capable of Advice as most other Afflictions, yet some Remedies there are drawn from Reason, Justice, Advantage and Usefulness, Imitation and Resemblance of great Persons celebrated for their illustrious Virtue, and that Branch of it which consists of Patience; and these, such as they are, I shall just propound to my Reader's Consideration.

1. First then, the enduring what is tedious and troublesome is a necessary Incumbrance of Life, and charged in common upon all living Creatures, upon Mankind most evidently and especially. And it is by no means reasonable that Providence should work a Miracle for our sakes, and exempt us only. How absurd is it therefore to fret and perplex ourselves because that hath happened to one Man in particular which might, and may happen every Moment to every Man without Exception.
2. Nay, it is not only general and common, but natural too. We are born to it, and cannot in any Equity and Justice hope to be exempted; for indeed should we cease to be subject to it, we must cease

to be Men. Whatever is a fix'd and irreverfible Law of our Creation, ought to be entertained with Meeknefs and Moderation: For we entred into Life upon thefe Terms, and the Conditions of Humanity exprefly indented for, are old Age and Infirmities, Decays and Difcafes, Anguifh and Pain. There is no Poffibility of avoiding thefe things, and what we can never get clear of, it will be our beft Wifdom to fettle a Refolution of making the beft of, and to learn how we may go through with it.

\* If the Pain belong it is but moderate, and confequently very fupportable, and a wife Man will be afhamed to complain of any thing lefs than Extremities. If it be violent and exceeding acute it is but fhort, and we fhould not repine, or be driven to Impatience for a Suffering which is quickly over. And yet this muft of Neceffity be the Cafe, for Nature cannot fustain itfelf under the Continuance of extream Torture: There muft be an End either of that or of the Patient in a little Time, and which of thefe Two foever be the Conclusion of it, as to the fuffering Part, the matter comes all to one, and therefore let this give us Courage and Comfort.

Confider again, that thefe Sufferings can go no deeper than the Body, we are not injured our very felves: Every real Injury takes off from the Excellence and Perfection of the thing, but now Sickness and Pain are fo far from derogating from, and doing any real Prejudice to us, that on the contrary they furnifh Matter, and put Occafions in our way for a more noble exercifing of Virtue than any that we owe to Eafe and perfect Health, and furely where there is more Occafion of Praise and

\* Confide, fummus non habet tempus dolor. Si gravis brevis; fi longus levis.

Z z z z 3

Virtue



BOOK III. Virtue, there cannot be less good. If the Body be what the Philosophers usually call the Instrument of the Mind, why should any one complain for this Instrument being applied to its proper Use, and worn out in the Service of its proper Master? The Body was made on purpose to serve the Soul, but if every Inconvenience which befalls the Body shall disorder and afflict the Mind, the Order of Nature is quite inverted, and the Soul from thenceforth becomes a Servant to the Body. Would you not think that Man unreasonably querulous and childish, who should cry and roar, and take on heavily, because some Thorn in the Hedge as he passed by, or some unwary Passenger had spoiled or torn his Cloaths? A poor Broker, who was to make Money of the Suit, might be allowed some Concern upon such an Occasion, but a Gentleman, and one of Substance and Condition, would make a Jest of it, and not esteem it worth a Thought, when so trivial a Loss was compared with the Abundance he had left. Now this Body of ours is no other than a Garment, borrowed for a little while that our Soul may make its Appearance, and act a short Part in it, upon the Stage of this lower World: But the Soul in the mean while is that which commands our Value and Regard, and our great Affair is to secure the Honour and Quiet of this better Part, while sojourning in this busy and tumultuous Life. And what do we think may be the true Reason why Pain provokes us to so great Impatience? What indeed, but that we place our Happiness upon wrong Objects, and do not set up our Rest, nor seek our Satisfaction in the Soul. \* Men grow into Coldness

\* Non assueverunt animo esse contenti; nimium illis cum corpore fuit.

and

and Negligence of this Part, and grow too familiar and fond of the Body. And Pain, as if it were sensible of this Folly of ours, plies us hard in our tenderest Part, especially when a Man shivers and trembles at its Approach, as if it took a Pride to insult over such unreasonable Fear and Concern.

The Advantages however of this so much dreaded Misery are considerable; it helps to wean our Affections, and teaches us to work off our Relish and Delight from that which we must shortly leave, for there is no one thing more assisting to us in giving us a due Sense of the Emptiness of the World, and what an errant Cheat it is, than Sickness and Pain, and I think every Man must confess this to be a very considerable piece of Service.

It heightens the Pleasure consequent upon it. For when a Disease hath had its Course, the Satisfaction of a Recovery is much more sensible than any Enjoyment of uninterrupted Health. This cheers and enlivens us, like Light out of the midst of Darkness, and a Man would almost imagine that Nature had contrived Pain on purpose, that by mingling some of those sharp Intervals, Ease and Pleasure might have due Honour done them, and be render'd more acceptable and exquisite.

Let us then reflect upon these few Suggestions, and see what Consequence they naturally offer to us. If our Pain be moderate, the Virtue of Patience cannot be very difficult; if it be extream, the Glory of enduring it as becomes us, is proportionably great; if it appear insupportable, our own Cowardize and Effeminacy have made it so; if there are but very few who can bear it decently, let us try to be of that Number, for the smaller it is, the more distinguishing and commendable it is to be in among them.

BOOK III. Let us not lay the Blame at Nature's Door for making us no stronger: This is all Pretence, it is not natural Weakness, but affected Nicety and Tenderness that disables us in this Point. If we run away from Pain, it will pursue us; if we surrender ourselves to this Enemy, and suffer it to conquer us, we shall be treated with Insolence and barbarous Usage, and the Reproach of Tameness will stick hard upon us. If it tries to terrify us, and we stand our Ground, the Success will be above our Expectation: Let us therefore defeat and disappoint this Design, by shewing ourselves more resolute and brave than it thinks for: For the greatest Part of the Smart and Anguish is owing to our own Softness and Delicacy, our yielding and sinking under it. \* *We do not flinch from things so much because they are hard to be born, as we create that Hardship to ourselves by dreading and shrinking at them.*

3. I may reasonably expect that all the former Arguments should be look'd upon as Flights of Speculation, philosophical Notions, which Men of refined Thoughts entertain when they are at Ease, but would soon find impracticable if brought to the Trial: And therefore to obviate this Objection, I have reserved to the last Place the Instances and Examples of Persons whose Practice hath justified the Possibility and mighty Efficacy of all that hath been said here, or is usually urged in Books upon this Occasion. And these, not only of wise and extraordinary, but of ignorant and common Men, nay, even Women and Children are frequently mentioned in Story to have endured both long and acute Pains and Diseases, and with a Mind so steady and unbroken, that the Anguish

\* Non quia difficilia non audemus, sed quia non audeamus, difficilia.

which



which hath taken away their Lives was never able to ſubdue their Conſtancy and Courage: They have waited the Approach of their Torments, and encountered them knowingly, and met them gladly, and ſupported themſelves under them with marvellous Chearfulneſs; nay, have even fought and courted the ſevereſt and moſt exquisite Tortures human Nature is incapable of ſuffering. The *Lacedemonian* Boys are notorious for whipping one another, till ſometimes they expired under the Scourge, and all this without the leaſt Change of Countenance. A ſort of barbarous Diſcipline inſtituted to harden them, that they might be better qualified to do their Country Service when thus innured to Suffering. *Alexander's* Page was burnt to the very Bone with a Cole, and endured it without the leaſt Complaint, rather than he would interrupt the Sacrifice. A *Spartan* Boy let his Bowels be eat out by a Fox, rather than he would diſcover his Theft. *Pompey*, when taken by King *Gentius*, who would have compelled him to reveal the Secrets of the *Roman* State, thruſt his Finger into the Fire, and burnt it till *Gentius* could bear the Sight no longer, to convince him that all Torture would be loſt upon him. The Caſe of *Mutius* with *Porſenna* was another Inſtance of the ſame kind; and good old *Regulus* endured more than all of them from the *Carthaginians*. The Account of *Anaxarchus* hath ſcarce any Parallel, who, when pounded in a Mortar at the Command of a Tyrant, cried out, *Beat on, beat on your Belly-full, you cannot touch Anaxarchus his ſelf, you only bruife the Shell of him.*

“ But that which is a Remedy indeed, is one peculiar to Chriſtians, the ſure Proſpect of a future  
“ and eternal State; the Conſideration what Cruelty  
“ and

BOOK III. “ and Contradiction of Sinners their Saviour conde-  
 “ scended to suffer; and that Participation of Glory  
 “ and Bliss with him in Heaven, which is ordained  
 “ and reserved for those who suffer with and for him;  
 “ that is, after his Example in a good Cause, and for  
 “ the sake of Faith and a good Conscience. These  
 “ Reflections will animate Men, not by rendring  
 “ them insensible, or taking Sanctuary in nice and  
 “ airy Distinctions, but by furnishing Arguments su-  
 “ perior to the quickest and tenderest Sense of Pain.  
 “ And accordingly we see what incredible Effects  
 “ these Religious Comforts had in all the Primitive  
 “ Persecutions; how triumphant they were in the  
 “ midst of Racks, and Fires, and Crosses; the  
 “ *having Respect to the Recompense of Reward; the*  
 “ *balancing the light Afflictions of a Moment with the*  
 “ *Eternal and far more exceeding Weight of Glo-*  
 “ *ry; the committing this Body to the Ground,*  
 “ like Seed for a plentiful and joyful Harvest at  
 “ the general Resurrection; the Confidence in the  
 “ Promises of him who cannot lye: These in-  
 “ spired the noble Army of Martyrs, and these are  
 “ able to support all their Followers who have a  
 “ Title to the same Expectations, and are Heirs  
 “ through Hope to the same Kingdom. And all  
 “ the Stoical Philosophy put together, cannot mini-  
 “ ster the hundredth Part of that Consolation which  
 Heb. xii. “ those two short Sentences of St. Paul do, No  
 11. “ *chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but*  
 “ *grievous; nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peace-*  
 “ *able Fruit of Righteousness unto them which are ex-*  
 2 Cor. v. 1. “ *ercised thereby, and, we know that if our earthly*  
 “ *House of this Tabernacle be dissolved, we have a*  
 “ *Building of God, a House not made with Hands,*  
 “ *eternal in the Heavens.*

## Of Captivity or Imprisonment. 1451

### C H A P. XXIII.

#### *Of Captivity or Imprisonment.*

**T**His Affliction is very inconsiderable in comparison of the former, and the Conquest of it will prove exceeding easy to them, upon whom the Prescriptions against Sickness and Pain have found their desired Effect: For Men in those Circumstances have the Addition of this Misfortune, confined to their Houses, their Beds, tied to a Rack, and loaded with Fetters; and this very Confinement is a Part of their Complaint, though the least Part. But however, we will say one Word or two of it.

Now what is it that Captivity or Confinement imprisons? The Body, that which is it self the Cover and the Prison of the Soul; but the Mind continues at large and at its own Disposal, in despite of all the World: How can it indeed be sensible of any Inconvenience from a Prison, since even there it ranges abroad as freely, as gaily, takes as noble, as sublime, as distant Flights, if not much more so than it does in other Circumstances? The Locks and Bars, and Walls of a Prison are much too remote to have any Power of fastening it down, or shutting it in; they must needs be so, since even the Body it self which it touches upon, is linked to, and hangs like a Clog fastened to it, is not able to keep it down, or fix it to any determinate Place: And that Man will make a Jest of all these artificial and wretched, these slight and childish Enclosures, who hath learnt how to preserve his native Liberty, and to use the Privilege and Prerogative of his Condition, which is to be confined no where; no, not even in this World. Thus *Tertullian* derides the Cruelty



BOOK III. Cruelty of the Persecutors, and animates his Brethren, by telling, that a \* *Christian, even when out of Prison, had shaken Hands with the World, that he defied and was above it; and that when under Confinement, the Case was the same with his Goal too. What mighty matter is it in what Part of the World you are, whose Principle it is not to be of the World? Let us change that Name of so ill a Sound, and instead of a Prison call it a Retreat; where, when you are shut up, the Flesh may be kept to a narrow Room, but all Doors are open to the Spirit, all Places free to the Mind; this carries the whole Man along with it, and leads him abroad whithersoever it will.*

Prisons have given very kind Entertainment to several valuable, and holy, and great Men; to some a Goal hath been a Refuge from Destruction, and the Walls of it so many Fortifications and Intrenchments against that Ruine which had certainly been the Consequence of Liberty; nay, some have chosen these Places, that there they might enjoy a more perfect Liberty, and be farther from the Noise, and Clutter, and Confusion of the World. He that is under Lock and Key, is so much safer and better guarded; and a Man had better live thus, than be cramped and constrained by those Fetters and Handcuffs which the World is full of, such as the Places of publick Business and Concourse, the Palaces of Princes, the Conversation of great Men, the Tumult and Hurry of Trade, the Vexation and Expence of Law-suits, the Envy and Ill-nature, the Peevishness and Passions of common Men, will be

\* Christianus, etiam extra carcerem, sæculo renunciavit, in Carcere etiam carceri; nihil interest ubi sitis in sæculo, qui extra sæculum estis. Auferamus Carceris nomen, secessum vocemus; etsi corpus includitur, caro detinetur omnia Spiritui patent; totum hominem animus circumfert, & quo vult transfert.

## Of Captivity or Imprisonment. 1453

continually clapping upon us. \* *If we do but reflect,* CHAP. XXIII  
 (says the same Author again) *that the World it self*  
*is no better than a Prison, we shall imagine our selves*  
*rather let out of a Goal than put into one. The Dark-*  
*ness by which the World blinds Mens Minds, is thicker*  
*and grosser, the Chains by which it clogs and binds their*  
*Affections heavier, the Filth and Stench of Mens*  
*Lewdness and beastly Conversation more offensive, and*  
*the Criminals in it more numerous; for such in Truth*  
*are all Mankind.* There have been several Instances  
 of Persons, who, by the Benefit of a Prison, have  
 been preserved from the Malice of their Enemies,  
 and escaped great Miseries and Dangers. Some have  
 made it a studious Retirement, composed Books  
 there, or laid a Foundation of great Virtue and  
 much Learning, so that the Uneasiness of the Flesh  
 hath been a Gain to the Spirit, and the Confinement  
 of the Body was well laid out in a Purchase so va-  
 luable as the Enlargement of the Mind. Some ha-  
 ving been disgorged, as it were, by a Prison, thrown  
 up when it could keep them no longer, and the  
 next Step they made hath been into some very emi-  
 nent Dignity, as high as this World could set them;  
 this Remark the Psalmist hath left us of the won-  
 derful Dispensations of Providence: *He taketh the* psal. cxlii.  
*Simple out of the Dust, and lifteth the needy off from*  
*the Dunghil, that he may set him with Princes, even*  
*with the Princes of his People.* And he indeed who  
 was an *Israelite*, might well make this Reflection,  
 since even among his own Ancestors they had so

\* Si recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem esse, exisse nos è carcere, quam in carcerem introisse intelligemus. Ma-  
 jores tenebras habet mundus, quæ hominum præcordia exce-  
 cant graviore catenas induit, quæ ipsas animas constringunt,  
 pejores immunditias expirant libidines hominum, plures po-  
 tremo reos continet, univèrsu genus hominum,

eminent

Book III. eminent an Instance as *Joseph*, of the mighty Alteration we are now speaking of; but others have been advanced yet higher, exhaled as it were, and drawn up into Heaven from thence. But thus much is certain, that there can be no such thing as perpetual Imprisonment; general Goal-deliveries are unalterably established, an Article of the Law of Nature; for no Prison ever yet took in a Man whom it did not shortly after let out again.

---

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Of EXILE, or BANISHMENT.*

1. **E**Xile is in reality no more than changing our Dwelling, and this hath nothing of substantial Evil in it. If we are afflicted upon the Account, our Grievance is not owing to what we complain of, but to our own Humour and Imagination. If we will go to the Reason of the thing, all Places are alike, and a Man's All is every where equally: For two Words indeed comprehend the whole what a wise Man values, and those two are Nature and Virtue.

2. The same Nature is common to all Countries, the same Sky, the same Elements: The same Sun shines, the same Stars rise and set, and their Motion, their Extent, the Proportion they appear in the same. And sure, if any Part of Nature be to be valued, that above us is much more worthy of Consideration and Esteem than this Sediment, and gross and drossy Part, which we tread under our Feet. The farthest Prospect of the Earth which we can take, does not amount to more than ten or twelve Leagues: So that a Soul, which settles its Affections upon this Part, shuts its self up in a very narrow Compass.



pass. But the Face of this glorious Firmament, CHAP. XXIV.  
adorned and beautified with such infinite Constella-  
tions, which like so many Grafts of Jewels glister  
over our Heads, expands it self; and that it may be  
more effectually and distinctly viewed, the Motion  
is perpetual and circular, and every Part turned to-  
wards us, so that every Point is visible to every Place,  
within the single Revolution of each Day and Night.  
The Earth, which (taking the Seas and ambient  
Atmosphere into the Account, is computed not to  
be above the hundred and sixtieth Part as big as the  
Sun) is to us incomparably less still, for it is not  
visible to us in any Part, except that little Spot, that  
single Point, upon which we stand. But were it  
otherwise, what does this change of our standing signi-  
fy? We think it a hard Case to be born in one Place,  
and driven to another. Have we any Propriety in  
the Place of our Birth? Our Mothers might have  
been delivered in any other Place as well as that  
where they were; and nothing is more entirely ca-  
sual, than the particular Spot where we first drew  
Breath, for there was in Nature the same Possibility  
of our being born any where? Besides, every Cli-  
mate produces and carries Men, sustains them with  
its Fruits, and furnishes them with all the Necessa-  
ries of Life, so that there is little Fear of perishing  
any where. Every Country settles us among our  
Relations too; for all Mankind are so nearly allied  
in Blood, and nearer yet in Charity and Affection.  
Friends too may be found any where; we need only  
be at the Pains to make them, which will soon be  
done, if we are careful to win their Hearts by our  
Virtue and Wisdom: Every Quarter of the habitable  
World is a wise Man's Country, or rather indeed  
no Part of it is his Country. It were an Injury and  
Dis-

BOOK III. Disparagement to suppose him a Stranger any where; and a weakness and littleness of Spirit in him to esteem himself so. A Man ought to use his Privilege, and assert his natural Right, which consists in living every where as if he were at home, and dwelt in his own: In \* *looking upon all Places as if he had a Propriety in them; and upon his own Estate or native Soil, as if it were in common to all Mankind.*

3.

But farther, what Alteration, what Inconvenience can possibly come to us by this Changing our Residence? Do not we still carry the same Soul about with us? and will not our Virtue keep us company where-ever we go? What can hinder a Man (said *Brutus*) from carrying his Excellencies, all he is really and truly worth, into Banishment or Captivity? The Mind and its commendable Qualities are subject to no Confinement, circumscribed within no determinate Space of Ground; but can live, and act, and exert themselves in all Places indifferently. A good Man is a Citizen of the whole World, frank and free, content and chearful where-ever his Lot casts him; always at home in his own Quarters, and always fix'd and settled; however, this Case or Portmanteau that incloses and conveys him, may be hurried and jumbled from one Place to another. † *The holy and immortal Soul is an Ubiquitary, of near Resemblance and Affinity to God himself, and like him diffused equally, and ever present to all the Stages of Time, and all the Distances of Place: And wheresoever a Man feels himself*

\* Omnes terras tanquam suas videre, & suas tanquam omnium.

† Animus sacer & æternus ubique est, diis cognatus, omni mundo & ævo par.

well,

## *Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses.* 1457

well, and easy, and in full Enjoyment, that is his CHAP. XXV:  
Home, call the Country by what Name you will.

And it is evident, that Ease and comfortable Enjoyment is not entailed upon particular Cities or Climates: This is what no Place can give, he can only depend upon his own Mind for it, and that can give it him in any Place equally.

How many very significant Men have found 4.  
Cause to choose and impose a voluntary Banishment upon themselves? How many others, when sent and driven away, and afterwards invited back again, have refused to return into their own native Country; and been so far from thinking their Exile an insupportable Misery and Punishment, that they have taken great Delight and Satisfaction in it, and reckoned no part of their Time so well spent, or so worthy the Name of Living, as that in which they were debarred their own Country? This was the Case of some generous *Romans*, *Rutilius* and *Marcellus* in particular: And again, how many do we read of, whom good Fortune hath taken by the Hand, as it were, and led them Abroad, put them in the way of Honour and Preferment in foreign Lands, such as they could have no probable Prospect of ever attaining at Home?

---

### C H A P. XXV.

#### *Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses.*

**T**HIS is a very vulgar, and (like the rest of theirs) a very silly and poor spirited Complaint; for it supposes the Whole, or at least the most considerable Part of a Man's Happiness, to depend upon the Advantages of Fortune, and looks  
5 A upon



BOOK III. upon a low and mean Condition, as a real and  
 ~~~~~ fore Evil. But now to shew what that is, in Truth,  
 we must observe, that there are two Sorts of Poverty: One is, that Extremity of it which we properly call Penury, or want of Bread, when those Supplies are lacking which are necessary to the Support of humane Nature; and this is a Calamity which happens but very seldom: For Providence hath been so bountiful, and Nature so prudent, that there are but a few of these absolutely necessary Things. The very Frame of our Bodies is a good Defence in this Case, and so far from exposing us to a needy Condition, that a little will serve the Turn, and that little is to be had almost every where: Nay, it is to be had in such Quantities as will not only reach to the keeping Life and Soul together, but are a sufficient Competency for moderate and frugal Persons: If we do not affect to lay it on thick, and squander away our Provisions; if we would take our Measures from Reason and Nature, and be satisfied with what these desire and prescribe to us, we shall seldom or never want enough for our Purpose. But if we will create to our selves fantastical and imaginary Wants, nothing can ever satisfy us. * *He that lives by Nature, says Seneca, can never be poor; and he that lives by Fancy, can never be rich; for the former will gladly take up with a little, but the latter grasps at all, and there is no End of it.* A Man that is Master of any sort of Trade, or bred up to any Profession; nay, he that hath neither of these Advantages, if he have but the use of his Hands, is safe from these Extre-

* Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opinionem, nunquam dives. Exiguum natura desiderat; opinio immensum.

Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses. 1459

mities, and will find no just Reason to fear, or to CHAP. XXV. complain of this first sort of Poverty.

The other sort consists in the want of those things which exceed a sufficient Provision for the Uses of Nature, and minister to Pomp and Pleasure, Dilicacy and Superfluity, what we commonly call a Decency; and this is in Truth the thing most Men are so mightily concerned for; Loss of rich and sumptuous Furniture, the not having a Down-bed, and a Table well spread, or a stately House, shut out from the Comforts and the Ornaments of Life. But this, when all is done, is not Want, but Niceness; and that is the very Disease we labour under. Now all Complaints of this Nature are highly unjust; for what they dread as Poverty, is rather to be preferred and wished for: We see the wisest Man that ever lived, was for neither Poverty nor Riches, but only such Food as was a convenient Subsistence for him. It is more agreeable to Nature, more truly rich, more quiet and safe, than all that Abundance Mankind are so fond of. First, it is more congruous and agreeable to our Condition, because Man came naked into the World, and he must go so out; and how can he call any thing his own, which he neither brought along with him, nor can carry away with him? The Possessions we pretend to here, are like the Furniture in an Inn; ours to use while we stay, but not to remove when we leave the House: And therefore all we ought to look at, is our present Accommodation. Secondly, it is more true Riches, for a larger Manour none can be possess'd of. He that hath enough, hath all the World. *Godliness*, Tim. *with Contentment is great Gain*, says the Apostle, it ^{vi.} is safer and more quiet: For here is no Fear to perplex, no hope of Booty to tempt, no danger of

BOOK III. Enemies to fence against; Poverty is secure in the midst of *Banditti*. A little Man, when covered all over with his Buckler, is less liable to Danger than a bigger and stronger, who is in many Parts exposed, and cannot bring his whole Body within the compass of his Shield: Such a Condition, as it does not burden and fatigue a Man with great Troubles, so neither does it make him capable of great Losses: And therefore these sort of People are always more easy, and free, and chearful, for they have not so much to take care of, nor can they suffer so much by any Storm that shall happen to blow. Such a Poverty as this is snug and close, gay and jolly, and secure, all foul Weather flies over its Head; it makes us truly our own Men, Masters of our Lives, without the Hurry and Noise, the Squabbles and Contentions, which are the necessary Incumbrances of plentiful Fortunes, and devour the greatest part of their Ease and Time who stand possessed of them. And what precious things are these to be called, the Goods of this World, that are big with so many Mischiefs, such substantial and vexatious Evils that expose us to Injuries, enslave us to Jealousies and Suspicion, to anxious Fears and inordinate Desires, and have so many thousand Artifices to trouble and disquiet us? He that is discontented with the Loss of these things, is miserable indeed, because he is deprived of his Possessions and Understanding both, and so does more than double his Loss. The Life of Men in moderate Circumstances is a Condition much like that of Coasters; but that of the Rich is like Sailors out at Sea. These are tost and driven, and cannot make Land though they would never so fain, they must wait a favourable Gale, and the Current of the Tide to carry them in: The former

Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses. 1461

mer are always near home, and have it in their Power to debark whenever they please. CHAP. XXV.

To all these Considerations we shall do well to add one more; that of great, and generous, and justly celebrated Persons, who have despised such Losses, nay, have welcomed and improved them to their Advantage, and thanked Almighty God for them, as so many signal Blessings: Such as *Zeno* after his Wrack, the *Fabricii*, *Serrani*, and the *Curii* among the *Romans*. And this is an extraordinary Attainment in Virtue, when a Man can find his Account, and discern, and satisfy himself with the Wisdom and Kindness of Providence, in Instances which the generality of the World look upon with the greatest Horror and Aversion. The Gods were heretofore painted naked, to intimate that they are above both the Necessities and Gaieties of this World; and how Godlike a Quality the Philosophers heretofore esteemed the despising of them, we may learn by that voluntary Poverty which so many of them embraced; at least, if it was the Work of Fate, and not their own Choice, by that easy Content and Acquiescence of Spirit with which they entertained it. To sum up all then in one Word, to Persons of Prudence and unprejudiced Affections, Men of elevated Souls, refined and purged from the Dross of Sensuality and Avarice, this Condition of Life will appear preferable; but to all People who think at all, it is very tolerable. 3.

BOOK III. **T**HIS Affliction is of several Sorts, according to the different Senses of which the Title here is capable.

If by Disgrace be meant the Loss of Honour or Dignity, or Offices of Importance and Trust, the Man is rather a Gainer than otherwise, and hath made a very advantageous Exchange: For what are such Promotions but splendid Slaveries, by which a Man hires himself out to the Publick, and lays out his Property, and the Enjoyment of his Person in the Service of other People? These Honours shine indeed and glisten, but with that dazzling Light they kindle Envy and Jealousy, burn up the Owner, and at last go out in Exile and Poverty. Let a Man but refresh his Memory with the Histories of all Antiquity, and the most memorable Passages of great Men, see how thick a Cloud they set in, and whether, almost to a Man, those that were most renowned for Gallantry and Virtue, did not finish their Course in Banishment or a Prison, by Poison, or some other violent Death. See the declining *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, *Phocion* and *Socrates*, among the Greeks; *Camillus* and *Scipio*, and *Cicero*, and *Papinian* among the Romans; *Jeremiah* and other Prophets among the Jews: Insomuch that a Man may say, Calamity and Disgrace is the very Livery and Mark of Distinction of the best and bravest Men; the usual Reward which the People bestow upon those that have done them the best Service.

If this Word be interpreted of common Fame and Opinion, every wise Man should have Spirit enough to despise that, and never trouble himself at all
about

about it. He does but disparage and degrade himself, CHAP XXVII and betray his want of Improvement in the Study of Wisdom, who is got no higher in this noble Science, than to be concerned at those false rash Judgments, and scandalous Reports, which are made and scattered at random, and which neither make a Man the better for their Commendations, nor one whit the worse for their Censure and Reproaches.

C H A P. XXVII.

LOSS OF FRIENDS.

BY Friends I understand Children, Relations, and all whom Nature or Acquaintance have rendred near and dear to us.

And here, first of all, we shall do well to examine pretty strictly into the true Foundation of this Concern, whether the Complaints we utter, the Tears we shed, and all the Sorrow and tender Resentments we pretend, be grounded upon their Interest or our own. I make no Question but every Man will answer that he grieves for their Sakes, but then most People must give us leave to doubt the Truth of this, and not take it ill, if we be Infidels in the Case, till satisfied by some more substantial Argument than the meer Authority of having their bare Word for it. It is but an officious Dissimulation of Tenderness and natural Affection, to put on an inconsolable Melancholy, and be eternally lamenting the Misfortunes of our Friends, or the Dangers and Calamities of the Publick; for would we but draw aside the Curtain, and probe our Souls to the Quick, Self would be found at the bottom, and the true Cause of our Grievs will appear to be that private Interest of our own, which is involved and interwo-

Book III. ven with theirs; this is the very thing that affects us so sensibly. And what is this but a spice of Envy, rather than true and generous Affection? For that very Death, or Absence of our Friends, which we bewail under the specious Title of their Loss and Misfortune, is in reality their mighty Gain, and greatest Advantage. * The true Use and Consequence of Death, is the putting a final and absolute Period to Mens Miseries, the placing them in a Condition incapable of Suffering. Had God in his Wisdom intended us a happier and more easy Being upon Earth, no doubt he would have contrived that it should have lasted longer. But as Matters now stand, and considering the Evils our Lives are beset with, it is a Mercy he hath made them so short.

If then we would speak out, and confess the Truth impartially, this Affliction looks at Home, and we lament the Loss, because our own Affairs suffer in it. Now this at the first Blush is evidently dishonourable and selfish, and we shall have much ado to justify our being sorry, that those we profess so dearly to love are in Ease and Happiness. If we loved them, as our Saviour says in the like Case, we should much rather rejoice, and if they loved us, it is but a decent Gratitude to be content with some Inconveniencies, when the suffering of these is softened by the Consideration of their unspeakable Advantage. For † *To be troubled at our own Loss may argue that we love ourselves, but it can never prove that we love our Friends.*

But after all, there is an excellent and never-failing Remedy in store for our Affliction, which all

* Mœrere hoc eventum, invidi magis quam amici est.

† Suis incommodis angi, non amicum, sed seipsum amantiss est.

the Malice and Power of Fate can never wrest out of our Hands: And that is a Reflection, that these Losses are not irreparable: For so long as we survive our Friends, so long we have Opportunities of making new ones. Friendship is one of the greatest Blessings human Life can boast of, and there is this mighty Advantage in it which other Happineesses cannot pretend to, that it is one of the easiest to be attained. God makes Men, but Men make Friends: And they that do not want Virtue need never want Friends, for this is the Instrument of acquiring them, and that which will always be serviceable in supplying the Number of those that are taken from us. If then Fortune hath robbed us of this Treasure, let us take care to reimburse ourselves, and by this Means we shall be so far from living destitute, that the parting with those we had, will only give us an Opportunity of enlarging our Affections wider, and adding to the Number.

Of Death.

THIS Subject hath been already treated of so largely and fully in the eleventh Chapter of the second Book, that I have nothing new to offer upon it here. And therefore, to avoid being tedious to my Reader, by cloying him with Repetitions, I shall only beg his leave to refer him back to that Passage.

The second Division of Evils, consisting of such as are Internal, *viz.* the disquieting Passions of our own Minds.

P R E F A C E.

FROM these several Evils already insisted on, several tormenting Passions are begot and bred in our Minds: For when any of those Afflictions are considered

BOOK. III. *considered absolutely, and in themselves, there springs up Fear in us, if we apprehend them as future and approaching, or Grief, if we reflect upon them as present, and at that Instant actually oppressing us. And if these Calamities do not immediately affect us, but others suffer in them, then the Passion we are moved to is Pity and Compassion. When to the Consideration of their own Nature, we join that additional one of their Causes or Occasions, and reflect upon them as done or procured by some other Person, then the Passions provoked by them are, Anger, Hatred, Indignation, Spight, Envy, Jealousy, Revenge; and all those other Resentments which dispose us to bear a Grudge, and look with an evil Eye upon the Persons that create us Uneasiness and Trouble. Now this Virtue of Fortitude consists in the entertaining these Misfortunes regularly, and agreeably to right Reason and Equity, in behaving ourselves gallantly under them, and so preserving our Souls free and undisturbed by any of the Passions apt to be excited, and so grow outrageous upon these Occasions. But in regard they owe their very Being to these Afflictions, if a Man can manage the Rules and Remedies here already prescribed, so as to gain an absolute Conquest over the Evils themselves, these Passions will be crushed in the Egg, and all farther Directions concerning them are wholly superseded. And this indeed is the best and most effectual Way to stifle and cut off the first Tendencies towards them. Efficacy and Success must unavoidably wait upon this Method, as that Fire is sure to be quenched, from which all combustible Matter that might feed it is withdrawn in Time. But though this taking off the Fuel be the best, yet it is not the only Way of keeping down this Flame, and therefore I will provide for the other Course, by adding some Directions against each of these Passions in particular; which Design will take up the less of our Time and Pain,*

in regard each of them hath formerly been drawn at length, and that in Colours so natural, so black and hideous, that it may reasonably be expected those Representations should work us up to a due Horror and Detestation of them.

C H A P. XXVIII.

REMEDIES *against* FEAR.

LET us not be too hasty and anticipate our Misfortunes, but be content to stay till they overtake us. Why should we run forward to meet those Miseries, which at the same Time we would fain run away from? Possibly they may not carry so far, but be spent, or fall to the Ground before they reach us. Our Fears are every jot as fallible as our Hopes: Perhaps the Time which we expect with Terror, to bring our Affliction, may come big with Joy, or at least bring a Comfort equivalent to the Sorrow. How many Millions of surprizing Accidents may interpose, and ward off that Thrust which we apprehend must give us our mortal Wound? Lightning, they tell you, will be diverted from its Course by the Motion of a Hat, and the Fortunes of great States and whole Nations are blasted, and blown down in an Instant by Accidents as slight as the Breath of ones Mouth. Give the Wheel but one Whirl, and that which was at the Top is tumbled down to the Bottom; and it very frequently happens, that the Persons who were our Terror, become our Pity or our Scorn; and the Thing from whence we looked for nothing but Ruin, is the best Instrument and Insurance of our Safety. Nothing is so liable to Mistakes as humane Prospects: What
3 the

BOOK III. the Prudence of Man hopes for, disappoints him; what this fears, vanishes and slips from under him; and what it never dreamt of, happens to him. Almighty God keeps his Counsels to himself; he alone knows what he hath to do: But his Measures and Methods are dark and distant from human Sight; and this is the Occasion of the many amazing Changes we see in the World; that what we project and form to our selves in one way, God decrees and brings about in another. Let us not make our selves unhappy before our Time, and it is very likely we may never be so at all: The future, which cheats so great a Part of Mankind, may probably cheat us among the rest to our Advantage. It is a famous Maxim in the Practice of Physick, that the acutest Distempers have no Prognosticks to be depended upon: And thus far it holds in our Fortune too, that the more furious and threatening her Symptoms are, the less we can form any certain Judgments from them. While there is Life there are Hopes, is as good a Rule, as just a Comfort with regard to our Affairs in Disorders, as it is with respect to our Bodies in Sicknes.

This Fear is not always the Effect of Temper and Complexion, but very often of Delicacy, and a too tender Education: For we apprehend many things to be more grievous than really they are, meerly for want of being hardened in our Youth, and accustomed betimes to difficult and laborious Undertakings. And upon this Account we should find great Benefit in using our selves a great while beforehand, to that which is apt to strike a Terror into us; representing to our Imaginations the dreadfullest Dangers that we can possibly fall into, and growing familiar with them by degrees; making some hazardous Attempts by way of Gallantry and Trial, that

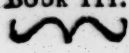
so we may bring our Courage to the Touch before-hand with Mischance, and wrest the Weapons of Fortune out of her Hands: For we shall find it much easier to resist her when we are the Aggressors, than when she puts upon the Defensive. At such Times, we have the Law in our own Hands, can take Leisure to arm as we please, can make the most of every Advantage, and secure our Retreat; whereas when she comes on, and attacks us, she surprises, and singles us out at Pleasure. We shall do very well therefore to exercise our Skill upon her, and, by beginning the Combat unprovoked, practice and grow perfect in the Art of defending our Post: To sound sometimes a false Alarm, to see how we should receive it, if it had been in earnest, and a real Engagement: To set before our Eyes Instances of astonishing Dangers, which the greatest and worthiest Men have been driven to, and recollect that some have escaped the dismalest that we can imagine, thereby to prevent Confusion and Despair; and that others have perished under the slightest and most inconsiderable, thereby to awaken us out of our foolish Security, and convince us that we are no where so safe, that Consideration and Prudence should be laid aside as unnecessary.

C H A P. XXIX.*Against GRIEF.*

GRief hath been formerly delineated under the Characters of the most tormenting, most prejudicial, and most unjust Passion of all others; the greater Reason to be sure we have to acquaint ourselves with proper Remedies against it. And these are of two kinds, Direct or Oblique.

I call

BOOK III.

 I call those Direct, which we derive from Philosophy and the Force of Reason; such as are employed in facing the Calamity, and learning to disdain and condemn it; persuading our selves that these external Misadventures are no real Evils, or if there be any thing in them which may justify so harsh a Name, yet that they are so small and slight, as not to be worth the disordering our Minds about them; that any notable Change in our Temper and Mind, is more than the greatest and most grievous of them all ought to obtain from us; and that to spend our Breath in Complaints, and our Days in Melancholy upon their Account, is highly unjust and misbecoming (For at this rate, the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*, and *Platonists*, have delivered themselves upon these Occasions) This Method of keeping our selves above Grief, and every painful Passion, is indeed very beautiful and excellent; what challenges not only our Commendation, but our Wonder, because it is exceeding rare, and none but Souls of the first Rate seem to be qualified for the Undertaking.

There is another of a meaner and more practicable Dispensation, the Effect of Philosophy too, but not in its *Acme* and utmost Perfection; for this is a more popular Method, and condescends to the Infirmities of Mankind; not so nobly descended, but of more general Use: And this is what I call Oblique, because it consists in quieting the uneasy Thought, by drawing off the Mind from its present Anguish to some more pleasant and agreeable, or at least to some fresh Object. This is properly shifting the Scene, declining, or according to the modern Way of Expression, shaming the Misfortune: A Remedy exceeding common, and such as
Mankind

Mankind are fain to take Refuge in, upon several other Occasions as well as this: For if we observe the thing nicely, it will appear, that many Cures are wrought both upon our Bodies and Minds this way. Thus when we are assaulted by Temptations, Divines advise that we would not trust our selves alone, but flee into Company. Thus when there is any strong Defluxion of Humours upon the Vitals which cannot be carried clear off, Physicians divert the Morbifick Matter, and throw it into some of those Parts, where the Lance or the Searing-Iron may be able to deal with it. Thus Men that travel over dangerous and frightful Precipices, shut their Eyes close, or look another Way. Thus the Men of Courage in Fight do not reflect upon their Danger, or think they are grappling with Death, but find themselves transported and busied with the Heat of Action. And of the many renowned Heroes who have suffered calmly and patiently, nay, even of those who have died by their own Choice, or their own Hands (which some *Greeks* and *Romans* heretofore were vain enough to do meerly for the Honour and Reputation of despising it; and others have been so brave and constant to undergo, in the Confidence and assured Hope of a better Life; as the Christian Martyrs, the Scholars of *Hegeſias*, and others, after the reading of *Plato's Antiochus*; or for the getting quit of the Miseries of the present Life, or whatever other Motives they had) still this was but a Stratagem of Diversion; for these Motives took their Thoughts off from the main Point in Difficulty: For that which they aspired after, or that which they fled from, made the more vigorous Impression, and either quite swallowed up, or mightily asswaged the Terror of what they were about to suffer. But few

or

BOOK III. or none of these had that Firmness of Soul to consider the Calamities themselves; to converse with, and come close up to them; to see them in their frightfullest Forms, and yet not start at them. This was a Glory reserved for *Socrates* and *Flavius*, condemned by *Nero* to die by the Hand of *Niger*, and some very few besides. We may therefore content our selves very well with diverting our Minds by some other Considerations, when any cross Accidents, or other external Calamities assault us. The common People seem to be sensible of some more than ordinary Efficacy in this Prescription, when upon all melancholly Occasions, they advise their Friends not to think of that which gives them the Disorder. And those who undertake to advise or comfort Persons in Affliction, will do well to consider what Counsel they are capable of following; to infuse some other Thoughts into them, by gentle and insensible Degrees, so loosening and undetermining the Object of their Trouble, and trying to plant another in its room. For this taking the Ground of their Melancholy from under them, before they are well aware of it, will prove a more real Consolation (in the first and furious Paroxysms especially) than the most philosophical, or, which is yet better, the most christian Harangue in the World. For though every Man may know, and urge pathetically enough, such Arguments as Reason tells us, it is fit melancholy Persons should submit to; yet these may all be lost, if the Application be out of Time: And therefore it is very necessary that Men should proceed with Judgment and Tenderness; that they should observe, both in what manner the Passions are to be treated, and when they are fit to be treated with; when they will bear coming up to the Point, and

and when they must be pacified by some powerful CHAP. XXX.
Diverſion.

C H A P. XXX.

Remedies against COMPASSION.

MY Reader may poſſibly be ſtartled at this Title, ſuſpecting that it favours too much of Inhumanity; but to abate his Surprize, I muſt remind him, that there are two ſorts of Pity: The one, firm and brave, virtuous and commendable, ſuch as we are told Almighty God and the bleſſed Spirits partake of; and this conſiſts in applying our Inclination and actual Endeavours to relieve the afflicted, yet ſo as not to take the Affliction upon our ſelves, nor do any thing in Diminution of the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or the Dignity of our Character. The other is a womanish and ſenſeleſs Pity, full of Tenderneſs and Concern, which proceeds from Weakneſs and Effeminacy of Soul, concerning which I have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore, in that Part which deſcribed the ſeveral Paſſions. Now for the conquering and compoſing the ſecond Sort, Wiſdom directs us to ſuccour the Afflicted, and to eaſe his Burden, but not to put it upon our own Shoulder, ſo far as to bear the Load with him. In this Senſe it is, that God is ſaid to be pitiful, and his Bowels and Yearnings muſt not be interpreted of the ſame Uneaſineſſes we feel upon theſe Occaſions, but of the ſame Readineſs to do Good, and to extend his Help, which we find in our ſelves upon feeling thoſe Uneaſineſſes: As the Phyſician does all he can for his Patient, and the Counſellor for his Client; but then it ends in Diligence and Industry, and making the moſt of their Caſe; but never goes ſo far

Book III. as laying their Miscarriage to Heart. The wise Man is desirous to assuage the Pain, but not content to smart with it; not to darken and disorder his Mind with the Vapours of that Melancholy which he labours to quiet and compose. God commands us to have a Regard to the Poor, and to qualify their Afflictions as well as we can, to plead their Cause for them, and to defend their Right; but yet at the same time he charges us to watch over our Passions, and take care that we be not balanced, even by good Nature and Pity it self, against Equity and Justice, and the Results of true Reason.

C H A P. XXXI.

REMEDIES *against* ANGER.

THESE Remedies are many and various, such as the Mind ought to lay in, and be strongly armed and guarded with long before, like People that expect a Siege; for it will be too late to begin to fortify, when the Enemy hath opened his Trenches, and plays his Batteries upon us. They may be reduced to three Heads; the first are such as secure all the Passes, and cut off the Approaches and first Beginnings of this Passion. For it is infinitely easier to repel, and guard the Avenues against it, than either to subdue and bring it to Rule, or to beat it out again, when once it hath got within us. We shall do well therefore to consult our Safety betimes, by delivering our selves from all those Causes and Occasions of Anger, which were heretofore observed and explained, when we were describing the Nature and Rise of this Passion.

I

Such

Such in particular as these that follow: 1. Weakness of Judgment. 2. Indulgence and Effeminacy; a Sickness of the Soul, which must be cured by hardning it against any Accident which can possibly happen. 3. Niceness and humourfome Fancies, Fondness for little Trifles, which must be corrected by bringing her Appetites to plain, and easy, and simple Things; for this Indifferency and Simplicity of Manners, is the Mother of inward Peace and Content. And therefore, ** let us be prepared and capable of every thing, satisfied with what comes next, and esteeming those Conveniencies best and most acceptable which are nearest at Hand, and will cost us least Trouble.* This is the general Rule given by Philosophers, and would be of great use for the Crossing these particular Humours, gives Birth to furious Passions and infinite Inconveniencies. *Cotys*, upon receiving a very noble Present of beautiful, but brittle Ware, broke all the Vessels immediately, to prevent his being angry whenever they should happen to be broken by any other Hand. This is what I cannot much extol, by reason it plainly shewed a Distrust of his own Virtue and Resolution, and condemned him of Cowardice and Fear. He had therefore done a great deal better, in sparing that extravagant way of Prevention, and settling in his Mind a firm Resolve not to be moved at such an Accident whensoever it shall happen. 4. Curiosity, which makes us eager and inquisitive into Things which we had much better live in contented Ignorance of. Thus *Cæsar*, when upon his Victory he took the Letters and Memorials, and several other Papers of Consequence, written by his

* Ad omnia compositi simus, quæ bona & paratiora, sint nobis meliora & gratiora.

BOOK III. Enemies, burnt them without ever examining what they contained. 5. Credulity and Easiness to receive every new Impression. 6. And above all the rest, a cavelling and captious Humour, Jealousy of other People's Behaviour, and fancying they design Injuries and Affronts to us. This indeed is very much beneath a Man of Spirit and Generosity; for how much soever it may seem to favour of Pride, and so indeed it does, yet this is a false Pride; and the Opinion of ones self at the same time, that it is more than it ought to be, is yet degenerate, and of a Bastard-breed, mingled with Meanness, and a little Soul; and therefore wanting Solidity for this Self-conceit, and being conscious of some notable Defect, it exposes the Person yet more by this peevish and suspicious Temper: For he that looks upon himself under the Contempt of another, is in some sense less than he; at least he debases himself, and becomes so either in Reality, or in Opinion, by these Distrusts and Nicenesses in point of Respect.

* If therefore we would express a just and generous Sense of our own Worth, we should put any other Interpretation rather than this, upon the doubtful Passages of Conversation. Imagine them to proceed from Folly, or Indiscretion, an unthinking Gaiety, some Defect in the Person, or what he did not observe, or could not help. If it come from our Friends, let us call it too great Freedom, and the Privilege they take upon Intimacy with us: If from those under our own Government, we should not suppose they knew they did amiss, or ever were so stupid and fool-hardy, to provoke a Person who they know hath Power to chastize, and make them smart severely for their Insolence.

* Nemo non eo, à quo se contemptum judicat, minor est.
If

If it proceed from mean and insignificant Fellows, we can neither receive any Dignity, nor suffer any Indignity from such Hands; our Honour is not at their Disposal, and therefore we should not descend so low as to be angry whenever they please to provoke us. *Agathocles* and *Antigonus* made a Jest of those that affronted them, and scorned to punish them when they had them at their Mercy. *Cæsar* had a peculiar Excellence this Way: *Moses*, and *David*, and the other celebrated Patterns of Virtue in holy Writ, have done so too. * *A great Post should have a great Soul to fill it.* The noblest Conquest is to subdue ourselves, and to leave it in the Power of no other Person to disorder us. Flying into Passion is a shrewd Symptom of Guilt, and a Consciousness that we deserve all the Indignities put upon us. He cannot be a truly great Man who bends under another Man's ill Treatment; a Conquest there must be on some side, for if we do not subdue our Anger, it will subdue us; and therefore the only Way to preserve our Liberty, and our Honour, is to get above this rebellious Passion, and † look down upon the Tempests gathering below with Scorn and Contempt.

The second Division of Remedies, consists of such as are fit to be made use of at the Time when any Provocations to this Passion are offered to us, and when we feel it is going to make Insurrection. And these are, 1. keeping the Body constantly in one Posture, and not allowing ourselves the least Motion, sitting silent, and keeping our Thoughts within our own Breasts. For any sort of Agitation of our Limbs, Hands, Feet, but especially of the Tongue,

* *Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet.*

† *Injurias & offensiones supremo despicere.*

Book III. sets the Blood and Humours presently into a Ferment, and kindles a Fire in the Soul. The beginning of Contention is like the letting out of Water, and it is the second Word that makes the Quarrel. 2. A prudent Reserve, Backwardness in crediting what we hear, Slowness in resolving, allowing Space to think, and consider and state the Merits of the Cause, and suspending our Determination and Resentment till all this be fairly done: For could we once but bring ourselves to Reason upon the Point, we should presently give a Check to this growing Fever. A Philosopher advised *Augustus* never to let his Anger loose, till he had first repeated the Letters of the Alphabet, and some Christians have given the same Counsel in effect, but better in the Diversion they prescribe, when they direct us to say over the Lord's Prayer, before we give any Vent to the boiling Passion: All we say and do in Heat, should be shrewdly suspected, and carefully watched, and therefore it is but fit we should make a Halt. * *Allow your self in nothing when you are angry, because there is nothing so ill, which you would not at such a Time be content to allow your self.* We ought to be afraid and extreemly jealous of ourselves, for while our Mind is in disorder, it is impossible she should do any thing properly, and as we ought. Reason at such a Time is entangled in the Passions, and can do us no more Service than Wings do a Bird whose Feet are fast in the Lime-twigs; we may flutter and struggle, but shall very hardly be able to extricate ourselves by all the Efforts we can make; and therefore we should never trust ourselves, but take Sanctuary in the Company of some Friend, and

* *Nihil tibi liceat dum irasceris; Quare? Quia vis omnia licere.*

there mellow and compose our Passions, by his calm Advice, and wise Conversation. 3. Another good Expedient, when we feel the Storm gathering, will be to divert and disperse it by somewhat that is agreeable and entertaining; and in this Case no Diversion is better than Musick to smoothe and sweeten the Passions, and by a kind of sympathetick Power to make perfect Harmony and true Concord in the Soul.

3.

The third Parcel consists of some good Considerations, which the Soul ought to be tinctured and thoroughly seasoned with beforehand. As first, a Contemplation of the Behaviour, and wild disorderly Motions of Persons in Passion, those Indecencies and Deformities, which may very reasonably be expected to beget in us a mighty Aversion to it. Upon this Account some of the Philosophers advise angry Men to look in the Glass, and to satisfy their own Senses how horridly these Excesses disfigure them. Secondly, let us also fix our Eyes and Hearts upon the charming, the admirable Beauties of Meekness and Moderation. Observe how exceeding graceful and becoming a mild and sweet Temper shews, how engaging to others, how beneficial to ourselves; for this well considered, would prove a powerful Loadstone, and attract the Affections of all the Beholders. This Advice is more especially expedient for Persons of Quality and high Rank, because Fortune hath placed them on high, made them more conspicuous than the rest of Mankind; and therefore greater Care should be taken to set off all their Deportment with Decency, and to the best Advantage: For as their Actions are of greater and more general Concernment, so their Faults have a more pernicious Influence, and are less to be retrieved than

BOOK III. those of common Men. Lastly, there is the Regard we ought to have for Wisdom and Virtue, that Science which it is the Business and Design of this little Book to train Men up in; for indeed, Philosophy and Religion shew themselves in no one Instance so much, as in the Command of our Passions, and the preserving our Minds firm, and steady, and impregnable. We should raise our Souls up above this Earth, and bring them to a Temperament and Disposition, like that of the upper Regions of the Air, which is never darkened by Clouds, nor agitated by Storms, nor disturbed by Thunder, but quiet and serene, and always the same. Thus neither should this Soul, this celestial and divine Part of us, be blackned with Grief, or disordered by Anger, but kept in a gentle and uniform Motion, considerate and slow, like the Orbs and Planets, which the higher they are, the more softly they move, and are freer from Precipitation as they approach nearer to Purity and Perfection.

4. Now it is necessary to inform my Reader, that all these Directions are to be understood of those inward Resentments and Disorders which are kept close and cherished in our Minds, and those Heart-burnings which kindle a long and lasting Fire in our Breasts, and break out in uncharitable Grudges, bitter Hatred and Aversion, and furious Desires of Revenge. For as to that other Sort of Anger which is outward and visible, that short Blaze is quickly in, and as quickly out again, where there is no Malice, no Resentment left behind, and the only Design of it is to make others sensible of their Faults, whether our Inferiors by Chastisements and smart Reproofs, or those upon the Level with us, by expostulating with them, and shewing the Injustice

or

or Indiscretions they have been guilty of; this is of infinite Use, highly necessary to be put in Practice, and exceeding commendable when rightly managed. CHAP. XXXI

It is much for the Advantage, both of ourselves and of those with whom we converse, to be thus angry upon some Occasions, provided always we keep within the Bounds of Moderation and prudent Conduct; and a little Vehemence does well to awaken People into a better Sense. There are a sort of People who value themselves upon restraining such Resentments, and keeping in their Passion, as they call it, which though very convenient when we have our Superiors to engage with, or such as we have Reason to be very tender of giving any Offence to, yet is no good Rule for our general Behaviour: They who boast of it, make indeed large Pretensions to Temper and Government of their Passions, and are mighty Philosophers in their own Eyes and Esteem; but yet they frequently burn and fret inwardly, and gain a Conquest upon themselves, which costs them more than the thing is worth: It were much better to give it Vent, and let their Resentments flame out a little now and then, than that they should glow and torment them within: For this covering of our Anger incorporates, and makes it of a Peece with our Souls; and the hasty Man is much rather to be commended when soon pacified again, than the fretful and morose, the sullen and the silent. If this Weapon must wound somewhere, it were much more advisable to draw it upon others, and give them a slight Hurt, than that the Point should be turned back upon ourselves, and stab us to the Heart. * *All Vices are less dangerous, when the Effects of them are*

* Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt, & tunc perniciosissima, cum simulatâ sanitate subsidunt.

BOOK III. *visible and apparent; but never so destructive as then, when they lurk secretly, and impose upon us by an artificial and counterfeit Virtue.* Thus a Sore skinned over, and rankling underneath, threatens ill Consequences, and Wounds are laid open to prevent a Mortification.

5. And as these outward Demonstrations of Anger may be for our own Ease, so may they likewise be capable of doing great Service to other People, upon such Persons especially as will not suffer themselves to be persuaded and argued into their Duty. For with Servants, and those who are actuated by no other Principle but Fear, there is an absolute Necessity of either feeling, or at least putting on somewhat of Warmth and Resentment, otherwise all Order would be lost, and nothing done under our Inspection as it ought to be. But then those Expressions of Anger must be sure to have these following Qualifications: 1. The Returns of them must not come too thick, nor be provoked upon every flight Occasion, for Use will harden those to whom they are directed; Alterations are never to be made by any thing that is grown familiar, nor can we save that Authority from Contempt, which interposes with Eagerness and Violence upon trivial and insignificant Miscarriages. 2. They should not be Random-shot, nor lost in the Air, nor spent in fretting or vexing ourselves, or railing and reproaching them behind their Backs; but discharged upon the Person who gave the Provocation, that he may feel the Smart of his own Folly. 3. They should be delivered gravely and pertinently, and carry somewhat of Tartness and Sting with them, without any Mixture of Jestings or Laughing, that we may convince them of our being in very good Earnest, and stir them

them up effectually to better Care for the future, as CHAP. XXXII well as punish them for what is already passed. In one Word, this sort of Anger is in the nature of Physick, and it will be our Wisdom so to time and so to apply it, that it may have a kindly Operation, and work a thorough Cure in the Patient.

The several Remedies prescribed here, though particularly insisted upon with regard to Anger only, will yet be very applicable and useful in the correcting of the following Passions.

C H A P. XXXII.

REMEDIES against HATRED.

TO defend our selves effectually from the Insults of this Passion, we shall do well to bear constantly in Mind that old Rule of *Epictetus* (and a most excellent and useful Observation it is) *That every thing hath two Handles, and that every Man hath it in his Choice, whether of them he will lay hold of it by*: Take it by one, and it will seem heavy and grievous; but by the other, it will be light and easy to us. Let us rather be sure to take every thing by the better Handle, and look upon it in the most advantageous Light: That is, put the best and most favourable Interpretation upon all that happens to us, and so shall we find by Experience, that what we hate, and find Fault with, hath a great deal to soften and recommend it to our Acceptance: For Providence hath in infinite Wisdom so ordered the Matter, that there is not any one Accident possible to us in this World, which a dexterous and skilful Man may not turn to some Account: And even in that
which

BOOK III. which gives us greatest Offence, there is more Subject for Lamentation and Complaint, than there can be for Hatred and just Averſion. He who does an ill or unbecoming thing to us, hath done the firſt Wrong, and ſuffered the greateſt Damage in it himſelf: For he hath loſt the Uſe of his Reaſon, and betrayed his own Virtue, which are Injuries ſo ſubſtantial, that nothing we can ſuffer at ſecond Hand can be comparable to them. Let us therefore take this Accident in another Proſpect, and view it there; let us give a freſh Turn to our Paſſion, and change Hatred into Pity: Let us take Pains to make the Perſons who have tempted us to hate them, worthy of our Love and Eſteem. Thus *Lycurgus* is ſaid to have dealt with a Man that put out his Eye; inſtead of proſecuting ſo ſenſible an Injury, he took another Courſe of puniſhing him, which was by his ſevere Remonſtrances and good Inſtructions to render him a virtuous, modeſt, and peaceable Perſon ever after.

C H A P. XXXIII.

REMEDIES *againſt* ENVY.

IN Oppoſition to this fretful and tormenting Paſſion, let us conſider and weigh nicely the Nature of the thing we ſet ſo high a Value upon, and grudge another the Fruition of. We are apt to envy our more prosperous Neighbours, their Riches and Honours, their Preferments and the Favour of great Men: But all this is reaſoning without Book, and want of attending to the Condition of the Purchase; we are not ſenſible how dear theſe things have coſt their Owners. Were this rightly underſtood, it is highly probable, if they were offered to us upon the ſame Terms, we ſhould think it our Wiſdom to decline

cline striking the Bargain. Flattery and Attendance, CH. XXXIII.
Anxiety and Care, Sufferings and Injuries, Affronts
and Repulses, Loss of Liberty, and ungenerous Com-
pliances with the Passions and Pleasures of those we
make our Court to, Violations of Justice, and Con-
tradiction to our own Consciences, these are usually
the Price such Advantages come at : Thus much how-
ever is most certain, that there is nothing in this
World worth the having, which can be had for no-
thing. To hope for Wealth and Honour, a plenti-
ful Estate, or a gainful Office upon other Terms than
they usually go at, is to desire that we may be made
an Exception to the rest of Mankind, to repeal an
universal Law, or at least to break and pervert a ge-
neral Custom received and established all the World
over : It is taking the Commodity, and keeping our
Money too. Why should you then, who set up for
the Character of Honour and Virtue, be discontent-
ed, because you are not possessed of those Advantages
which are never to be acquired but by ignominious
and reproachful Methods, and must be bought at the
Expence of Modesty and Decency ? If this be the
Case, these splendid Appearances call rather for your
Pity than your Envy : Either the Object of your
Passion is a real Good, or it is not ; if it be a fan-
tastical and imaginary Good only, it is beneath this
Resentment, nay it is inconsistent with it : For no
Man is envious upon a Supposition of a treacherous
and deceitful Outside, but upon an Implication of
substantial and intrinsic Worth ; but if it have this,
and be a real and solid Good, then ought it to be
Matter of Joy and Pleasure : For the Laws of Hu-
manity, and those of Christianity, much more oblige
us to desire and take Delight in one another's Hap-
piness ; and the Exercise of this Virtue, with regard

Book III. to other Peoples Satisfaction and good Fortune, would
 be a very considerable Addition to our own.

C H A P. XXXIV.

REMEDIES *against* REVENGE.

1. **F**OR the beating down this cruel Passion, several Considerations may be of use to us ; as first of all, that there is not any Action of our Lives so truly honourable and glorious, as that of pardoning and passing by Injuries and Affronts, nor any Attainment which requires greater Skill than this to master and excuse it readily and gracefully. Every body knows but too well how to prosecute Wrongs, and demand Satisfaction; but the remitting and receiving those that have done them into Grace again, is a Glory reserved for Princes, and truly great Souls: If then thou wilt prove thy Sovereignty, shew that thou art King of thy self, and do a truly royal Act, by forgiving freely, and extending thy Kindness to those that have most justly merited thy Displeasure.

2. Secondly, Remember that this is of all others the noblest Conquest, to convince the World that thou art impregnable, and above the Reach or Resentment of Injuries and Affronts : For by this Means they all rebound back again upon the Head of the Author, and like Blows upon Anvils, when they make no Impression, only benumbed and put the Party to Pain, who laid about him with such impotent Malice and Fury. To continue Revenge, is to give our Enemy the Satisfaction of knowing that he hath hurt us; and he that complains, declares himself worsted in the Controversy. So says the Moralist;

* He

* *He that is impatient for Satisfaction, acknowledges himself in Pain; that Soul cannot be truly great, which bends beneath an Injury: A generous Spirit, and one that truly values himself, never revenges a Wrong, because he is too big to feel the Smart of it.* CH. XXXIV.

You will reply, perhaps, that it is very hard, though, to suffer Injuries and Offences grievous in themselves, and scandalous to the World; I know it very well, and therefore my Advice is, that you would not suffer them, but vanquish and get so absolute a Mastery over them, that nothing of this kind should reach up to you: And this to be done in a fair and honourable way, by disdaining the Thing and the Person that is guilty of it; or, if you please, advancing the Conquest higher still, and reclaiming him. *Cæsar* was remarkable for both these good Qualities: No Victory is so desirable, none so triumphant as that which makes your Enemy buckle under you by Kindness undeserved: That which lays him with his Mouth in the Dust, and strikes him dumb at his own Baseness, and so shames his Spight into Friendship; for what can melt him, if this will not? What can deserve Laurels so justly, as the being thus invincible, and not suffering any Aggravations an Injury is capable of, to stop our Hands, or get the better of Virtue and Reason? This indeed is a Resolution we should settle to our selves, as considering, that the more grievous the Crime, and the bitterer and more implacable the Spight, the more fit it is for us to pardon it; and the better we could justify taking a severe Revenge, the more it makes for our Honour and Commendation to take none at all.

* *Ultio doloris confessio est; non est magnus animus, quem incurvat Injuria. Ingens animus & verus æstimatur sui non vindicat injuriam, quia non sentit.*

Remember

Book III.

4.

Remember how great a Contradiction it is to all Equity and Reason, that the same Person should be Judge and Party both in the same Cause; and yet this is an Absurdity which every one that undertakes to revenge his own Quarrels unavoidably runs upon. This ought therefore constantly to be left to the Arbitration of a third Person, or at least a Man should never take it into his own Hands, without advising with his Friends; following such Measures, as they, who are calm and indifferent Judges, think proper; and not leaning to the rash and hot Determinations of our own disordered Minds. The old Poetical Fables have given us a beautiful Representation of this Matter, in their Accounts of the Heathen Deities, and the Limitations of their respective Provinces and Powers. *Jupiter*, they tell you, hath a Right to cast such Thunderbolts as are favourable to Mankind, and portend good Events by virtue of his own despotick Authority: But when any Thunder is to be discharged upon wicked Men, and those Bolts are let fly which carry Devastation and Ruin, and any sort of mischievous Effects, this he hath no Right to do of his own Head, nor without the Advice and Assistance of twelve Gods met in Counsel. This was a very significant Thought, and shewed the Importance of the Occasion; that even the Supreme of all the Heavenly Powers, who had unlimited Commission to do Good to all the World of his own Head, should yet have it restrained, and his Hands tied up from hurting, so much as one single Person, till the Matter and Merits of the Cause had been solemnly debated. But the Reason couched at the Bottom deserves our Attention: Kindness and Beneficence there can be no Danger in, no Mistakes, no Excesses of this Kind are pernicious; but when Revenge
and

and Punishment come under Deliberation, this is so CH. XXXV. 1
 nice a Point, that even the Wisdom of *Jupiter*
 himself was not secure from all possibility of Error;
 and therefore an Assembly of disinterested Persons
 was requisite to direct and moderate his Anger.

And this Moderation and Temper is what every
 Man should make it his Business to acquire, and be
 well fixed in; which, with respect to the Case now
 before us, is but another Name for Clemency. For
 by that, I mean such a Mildness and Sweetness of
 Spirit, such an Inclination to forgive and be kind,
 as curbs and holds in the violent Careers of Passion,
 and makes us move coolly and regularly. This will
 arm us with Patience, will convince us that we can-
 not be injured in Reality, except from our own
 selves; and that for the Wrongs others malicious-
 ly intend us, so much and no more will stick, as
 we fasten and bind upon our selves by resenting the
 Provocation. This will secure us the Good-will
 and Affections of all Mankind, and will season all
 our Behaviour with that Modesty and Decency,
 that cannot fail to render our Conversation innocent,
 courteous and agreeable, and universally desired.

C H A P. XXXV.

REMEDIES *against* JEALOUSY.

THE only Method of any Efficacy for avoiding
 this Passion, is to take care to deserve the
 Advantage we desire: For Jealousy is little else at
 the bottom, but the distrust and misgiving of ones
 own Mind, and an Argument that we are conscious
 of our own want of Merit. When the Emperor
Aurelius was asked by his Wife *Faustina*, what he
 would

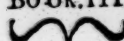
BOOK III. would do if his Enemy *Cassius* should win the Field, his Answer was, *I do not serve the Gods so ill, that they should have such an Affliction in reserve for me.* So they that partake of another's Affection, and are tempted to any suspicion of losing it, will do well to silence such uneasy Suggestions, by telling themselves, the Regard I have for him is so sincere, that I dare be confident he will not rob me of a Treasure I value so highly. An Assurance of our own Faithfulness, and deserving better Usage, is the best Pledge of our friendly Kindness and Fidelity to us in return.

2. He that pursues a Prize virtuously, will be content that others should seek it in the same way: For this does but serve to awaken, and illustrate, and exalt his Worth. Weakness only creates Fear of Rivals, because this suspects, that when we come to have our Merits laid in the Balance with those of other Competitors, our Imperfections will be more distinctly seen, and we shall suffer by the Comparison: Whereas otherwise, if you take away Emulation, you eclipse the Honour of Virtue, and quench the most powerful Incentive to good and gallant Actions.

3. As to that particular kind of Jealousy between married Persons, the Counsel expedient to be given on the Man's Part seems to be this; that if any Reproach happen to them from the Disloyalty of their Wives, they should recollect what great and renowned Fellow-sufferers they have had in this Calamity, who yet bore it with exemplary Patience, and made no Words of their Misfortune. Such were *Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, Cato, Augustus, Anthony,* and a great many besides. But you will say, the World hath discovered your Shame, and it is grown common

common Talk. And pray, who is there that the World does not talk of to their Prejudice, more or less, whether they have any ground for such Discourse or no? How many Persons of Honour and Virtue have you your self heard branded with the infamous Title? If you make a Bustle, and blaze abroad your Disgrace, the Ladies will only have the Advantage of the better Jest: And the Commonness of this Affliction, one would think, should long ago have worn out all the Uneasiness of it. But however, put the worst of the Case, that you are in reality the Thing you suspect; yet how is this a just Calamity? It is no Reflection upon your Virtue, or your Wisdom; the World is most unreasonable and absurd in loading the innocent Person with Infamy, and rendring that ridiculous which is in no degree a Fault: But if they will proceed by wrong Measures, your own Breast should follow those that are right and equitable. Nay, even in respect of others, there is some Remedy left still: For it is in your own Power to render your Virtue so illustrious, that it shall stifle and swallow up this Misfortune, and make your Name never mentioned among wise and good Men at least with one whit the less Esteem. They will cover your Infamy by their just Commendations, and curse the wicked Occasion of it; who is so much the more profligate, and abandoned, despicable and detestable, for using a good Man ill.

As to the Women, they are not so easily satisfied, because their very Nature seems more disposed to Suspicion and Curiosity: But the best Advice I can give them, is to dissemble any Apprehensions of this kind; which is the true and prudent *Medium* between two very vicious and foolish Extremes.

BOOK. III.  The one, that filly tormenting of themselves, which devours their Spirits, destroys all their Satisfaction, and flies out into Transports of Fury and Rage: The other, that tame Negligence practised in the *Indies*, and some other Eastern Countries, where Wives use their utmost Endeavours to advance the Honour of their Husbands (which is there thought to consist in the Number of Wives and Mistresses) or their Satisfaction, or the Encrease of Posterity, by turning Bawds and Procurers. This is a piece of Service which I think they might very well be excused. But when all is done, the only Cure for this Evil on both sides, is such an affectionate and discreet, such a modest and reserved Carriage, as shall minister no manner of Occasion for calling the Fidelity of either Party into Question.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Temperance, the fourth Cardinal Virtue.

Of Temperance in General.

- i. **T**emperance is capable of a double Signification: Sometimes it is taken in a general Sense; for Moderation, and that Temper which we commonly say should be preserved in all manner of Things whatsoever. In this comprehensive Interpretation, it does not denote any one Virtue in particular, but the Complex of them all in common; and is that Quality, which seasons and gives a Relish to good Actions of every Sort. In this Latitude we are under perpetual Obligations to it; but chiefly so, in those Matters that admit of Controversy, and engage us in Differences and Disputes. For the due Observation of it thus understood, there needs but this
single

single Direction, of laying aside all Personal and Self-ended Considerations, and make it our entire Business to stick close to our Duty. For all lawful and commendable Affections are temperate; Hatred, and Anger, and Cruelty, are Excesses much beyond the Limits of Justice and Duty, and are only second-hand Remedies, necessary to be used upon them who refuse to be kept to their Duty by the Power of Reason, and the softer Arts of Persuasion.

But when this Term is used in a more restrained Signification, then it imports a Check and Regulation of Things pleasant and delightful to Sense, and such as our natural and carnal Appetites eagerly long after, and are gratified by. At present we extend it a little farther, for the Rule and Measure of a Man's Duty in all kinds of Prosperity, as Fortitude was said to be in every sort of Adversity: So that Temperance supplies the Place of a Bridle, and Fortitude that of a Spur; this checks our Career of Gaiety, that quickened our sluggish Fears, and roused us out of Despondency. With these two in Conjunction, we are able to manage that brutal and restiff, and wild Part of us, which consists of the Passions, and shall not fail to demean our selves well and wisely in every Condition, and change of Fortune: Which is, in Truth, the very Sum and Substance of Wisdom, and the very Perfection I desire my Reader should aspire to.

The general Object then of Temperance, is all manner of Prosperity, every thing that is pleasurable and gay; but especially and more peculiarly Pleasure, which this Virtue regulates and retrenches. All that Part, which is superfluous and unnatural, and vicious, it pares quite away, and that

BOOK III. which is natural and necessary, it keeps within due Measures. Thus we find it described by an Old Author, * *Pleasures are her Province and proper Dominion, over these she presides, and exercises her coercive Power. Some she detests and utterly discards, others she corrects and distributes in their just Proportions. She never chooses any meerly for their own Sakes; and the best Measure of gratifying our Appetites she declares to be, the taking not so much of any of these Objects as we have an Inclination to, but so much only as is fit for us.* This is the Authority and Superintendence of Reason over those eager and violent Affections, which carry our Wills towards Pleasures and sensual Delights. The Curb of our Soul, the Instrument to scum off those Ebullitions which by the Heat and Intemperance of the Blood are apt to boil over; that so the Mind may be preserved uniform, and in consistence with Reason; and not debase it self by submitting, and accommodating its Measures to sensible Objects, but preserve its rightful Superiority, and force them to serve and suit themselves to the Dictates of the Mind. By this we wean our Souls from the childish Delights of the World, and qualify them for a more substantial and generous Sustenance. In short, it is a Rule that squares all Things by the Proportions of Nature, Necessity, Simplicity, Ease, Health and Strength, and Hardiness: For these are Things that commonly go together, and they are the Measures and Bounds which Wisdom sets out. As on the other Hand, Art and Luxury, Superfluity, Varie-

* Voluptatibus imperat, alias odit & abigit, alias dispensat, & ad sanum modum redigit; nec unquam ad illas propter illas venit; scit optimum esse modum cupitorum, non quantum velis, sed quantum debeas.

Of Prosperity, and Advice thereupon. 1495

ty, Multiplicity, Difficulty, Sickness, a weak and ^{CH. XXXVII.} tender Constitution, bear one another Company, and are the usual Attendants of Intemperance and Folly. * *The Necessaries of Life come cheap and easy, all the Labour and Toil is about the Delights and Entertainments of it. Nature intended we should take up with such Things as she hath made ready at Hand, and designed to free us from Trouble, but we have created it to ourselves, and made Life one perpetual Difficulty, by nauseating and disdaining every thing that is easy.*

CH A P. XXXVII.

Of PROSPERITY and ADVICE thereupon.

THAT Prosperity which comes to us leisurely and regularly in the usual Course of the World, and a common Concurrence of visible Causes and Effects (as particularly by our own Industry or Frugality, Prudence and good Management, or by eminent Accomplishments and Deserts) is abundantly more stable and safe, and less exposed to the Envy of other People than that which drops, as it were into a Man's Mouth, and is let down from Heaven upon him, to the Surprise of all that know him, and beyond the very utmost of his own most sanguine Hopes.

Prosperity is a State of infinite Hazard and Danger: As soon as ever this fair Gale begins to blow, all that is light, and empty in the Soul, is immediately carried up with the Breath of it. Nothing hath so pestilent an Influence to stupify and ruin Men, and make them forget themselves: They perish; and

* *Simplici curâ constant necessaria, in deliciis laboratur. Ad parata nati sumus: nos omnia nobis difficilia facilius fastidio facimus.*

BOOK III. are spoiled, like Corn born down by a full Ear, and Branches broke with excessive Quantities of Fruit: And therefore it is necessary a Man should be sensible what slippery Ground he stands upon, and look to his Steps accordingly, but especially he should beware, that he be not carried to Insolence and Contempt of others, Pride and Presumption with regard to himself. These are Vices so incident to Mankind, that the least Temptation will suffice for them. And as some People (according to the Proverb) will be drowned in two Foot of Water, so there are some too, who, upon the least Smile of Fortune, swell and look big, scarce know themselves, and are intolerable to all their Acquaintance. Of all the Pictures of Folly which the World can furnish us with, this seems to be drawn most like the Life.

3. From the Unsteadiness of Mind it is that we are able to give a rational Account why Prosperity should be so very short and uncertain, as generally we find it: For Persons in this Condition are for the most Part ill-advised, and this Inadvertency makes frequent and quick Revolutions, changes the Scene from Joy and Grandeur to Calamity and Sorrow, and Want, alienates the Affections of Providence, provokes Almighty God to take back again what Men make such ill use of. To all which we may add the secret and undiscernable Reasons of his Dispensations, or, to express the thing in a more secular Phrase, that Inconstancy of Fortune, which from a fond Mother changes her Humour unaccountably to all the Severities of a cruel and cursed Step-mother.

4. Now the properest Advice upon this Occasion, is for a Man to restrain and moderate his Opinions and Affections of the good Things of this World, not to esteem them too highly, nor imagine him-

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1497

self one whit the better or the worse Man for the CH. XXXVIII. Enjoyment or the Want of them; and the natural Consequence of this so low Valuation will be, not to desire them with any degree of Vehemence. If they fall to his Lot, to accept them as the Gift of a bountiful Master, and to serve him with them thankfully and chearfully; but always to look upon these as foreign and additional Advantages, no necessary, no inseparable Part of Life: Such as he might have been very well without, and such as, while he hath them, are not to be made any great Account of, or suffered to change the Temper of his Mind, either higher or lower. For, * *What Fortune hath made yours, is none of yours. He that will live safe and easy, must decline those treacherous Baits, those limed Twigs of Fortune: For what hath she in her Disposal worth engaging our Desires, or fixing our Heart and Hopes upon?*

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of PLEASURE, and Directions concerning it.

BY Pleasure, I understand a Perception or Sensation of that which is agreeable to Nature, a delightful Motion or Tickling of the Senses, as, on the contrary, by Pain is meant some disagreeable Sensation which produces Sorrow, and is grievous to Nature. But those Philosophers (as the Sect to the *Epicureans* in particular) who resolved the chief Happiness of Man into Pleasure, and paid it greater Honour than we think fit to do, took in another Signification, and extended the thing no farther than a Privation of Grief or Uneasiness, such as they thought

* Non est tuum fortuna, quod fecit tuum. Qui tutam vitam agere volet ista viscata beneficia devitatur, nil dignum putare quod speres. Quid dignum habet Fortuna, quod concupiscas?

fit

BOOK III. fit to express by Indolence. According to their Notion, human Nature was capable of rising no higher than the not being uneasy. This is a Sort of middle State, a Neutrality between the first and vulgar Acceptation of the Word, and Pain; and bears the same Proportion, with regard to this Life, which some Divines have thought *Abraham's* Bosom does to the next; a Condition between the exquisite Happiness of Heaven, and the extreme Torments of Hell. 'Tis a sweet and peaceable Sedateness of Body and Mind; an uniform, constant, and fixed Pleasure, which carries some resemblance to that *Euthymia*, or Tranquillity of Soul, which other Philosophers esteemed our chief Good: Whereas the other is an active and sensible Pleasure, full of vigorous and sprightly Motion. At this rate there would be three distinct Conditions, of which Mankind are capable; two in Extremes, Pleasure and Pain, which are neither stable nor durable, but both of them sickly, and in Excess, the Mean between them firm and sound, healthful and permanent, to which the *Epicureans* attributed the name of Pleasure (and such indeed it is, when compared with Pain) and placed the supreme Happiness of our Nature in it. This unhappy Name brought that general Scandal upon their Sect, which the opposite Parties of Philosophers insult over with so much Pomp and Triumph: For after all (as *Seneca* with great Ingenuity confesses) there was no Hurt but in the Name, no Offence, but what was merely titular; for to those who will be at the Pains of a nice Examination into their Lives and Manners, it will appear, that none ever advanced Doctrines of stricter Sobriety, none were greater Enemies to Vice and all manner of Debauchery, none more distant from those Reproaches to a rational Soul, than

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1499

than the Men of this Profession: Nor indeed was CH. XXXVIII. it without a fair Appearance of Reason, that they gave this Name of Pleasure to that so much exalted Indolence of theirs. For this Titillation of the Sense comes at last to this, and seems to make it the ultimate End and Aim of all the more feeling Satisfactions we find in it: As for Instance, the Delight we find in Meats and Drinks, pretends to nothing more than to deliver us from that Torture, and those eager Cravings which Hunger and Thirst had brought upon us; and, by satisfying the Appetite, to place us in a Condition of Ease and Repose, till the same Wants return again upon us.

2.
The learned World have behaved themselves very differently upon this Occasion. They have determined very peremptorily on both Sides, and (as is usual with hot and positive People) have both over-shot the Mark: Some have perfectly adored Pleasure, and exalted it into a Deity, others pretend the greatest Detestation of it, and expose it for a Monster: They start and tremble at the very Name, and cannot allow it to import any thing but what is full of Guilt, and a Scandal to human Nature. Those who condemn it, without more ado, proceed to Sentence upon these following Considerations. They tell you, that it is, first, a short and transitory Enjoyment, a Fire of Thorns kindled and extinct in a Moment, especially if it be vigorous and exquisite; for in Proportion as you add to the Degree, so much you take off from the Duration of it. Secondly, That it is a nice and tender Thing, the least Accident corrupts and embitters it, that a Drop of Pain will sower an Ocean of Pleasure. Thirdly, That it is mean and base, attended with Shame, and attained by those Parts of our Body which Nature hath

BOOK III. hath placed out of Sight, as if she were out of Countenance at the gratifying our own Inclinations. This however is true but of some Pleasures, for there are some which affect Pomp and Ostentation. Fourthly, That we are quickly cloyed with it. Men are formed in such a manner, that their Constitutions will not bear the long Continuance of any exalted Pleasure. There is a certain Impatience attends it, and we soon grow weary of what we most eagerly desired but just before: Whereas on the contrary, Nature hath made us hard and tough, and able to weather out very long Pains, as hath been observed formerly: This short Pleasure too, is often followed by long Remorse; it produces monstrous Mischiefs, and is more fruitful in nothing than in the Ruin of single Persons, and Families, and whole Countries. But the Fault they insist most upon is, that, when Men are most intent upon gratifying it, it does so entirely possess and tyrannize over them, that it usurps the whole Man, and will not so much as admit Reason to interpose, or share in the Entertainment.

3. On the other Hand, the Advocates of Pleasure plead Not Guilty to this Indictment, and alledge in Defence of their Cause, that Pleasure is natural, created by Almighty God himself, and contrived for the Good of the World, made subservient to the Preservation and Continuance of his Creatures: Nature, which is the Parent of Pleasure, seems convinced of its Necessity, in that all the Actions, by which Life is sustained, are seasoned with, and recommended by it: And yet all Philosophy hath allowed, that the way to live well, is to follow the Dictates of Nature. God placed Man, during the State of Innocence, in a Place and Condition richly

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1501

ly furnished with vast variety of Delights: And the Ch. XXXVIII
very Name given by *Moses* to Paradise, is in the Eden.
Hebrew Language, Pleasure: And not only so, but
if we raise our Eyes and Thoughts above this World
to the highest Perfection, which Religion bids us
aspire after, what are the Felicities of the Saints
above, but a lasting and uninterrupted Series of
Pleasure? *They shall be filled with the Pleasures of thy
House, and thou shalt give them Drink out of thy Plea-
sures, as out of the River,* says the Psalmist, when he
would describe the Satisfaction of the Holiest Men.
These, I confess, do not mean those gross and car-
nal Satisfaction which this Term is abusively made
to denote; but it ought not by any means to be
confined within that Compass, as if nothing that is
truly Generous and Great could be intended by it.
These things ought to be included, when we speak in
Vindication of Pleasure, and the other have no Rea-
son to be disdained, when regulated by Equity and
Reason. And accordingly we find, that the most
renowned Philosophers, and acknowledged Patterns
of Virtue, such as *Zeno, Cato, Scipio, Epaminondas,
Plato*, and the Immortal *Socrates* himself, did not
think it below them to taste the Comforts and Diver-
sions of Life; nay, descended so far, as even to dis-
course and write Tracts of those, which some now,
by an affected Nicety, pretend to accuse (as you
have heard) and would in their mighty, but mista-
ken Zeal for Virtue, fain banish out of the World,
under the odious Character of Pleasures of Sense.

Since therefore wise Men have been so much di-
vided in their Opinions upon this Subject, it will
be necessary for us to proceed cautiously, and to dis-
tinguish these Pleasures into their several Sorts;
without which, we shall never be able to come to
any

Book III. any just and true Resolution of the Case arising here-
 upon; nor satisfy our selves which are lawful Plea-
 sures, or how far any are so. First then, we must
 take notice that some Pleasures are natural, and others
 unnatural: This Distinction being of all the rest most
 important to our present Purpose, will be consider-
 ed more particularly by and by. Some again are
 pompous and showy, nice and difficult; others are
 silent and secret, easy, and ready at hand. Pleasure
 is not ambitious of Splendor and Observation, but
 esteems her own solitary Enjoyments Wealth
 enough, without concerning her self what other
 People think of her; and enjoys her self more in
 Retirement than in the Eye of the World. Those
 again, that are so very easy as to be always at our
 Command, grow flat and nauseous, and lose all their
 Relish, except there be now and then a little Un-
 easiness or Obstruction to set an Edge upon our Ap-
 petite. There are likewise spiritual and corporeal
 Pleasures: The Ground of which Distinction is not
 any real Separation capable of being made between
 them; for Pleasure of every kind affects the whole
 Man, and extends to every Part of the Composition;
 and one Part hath not any one Resentment peculiar
 to it self, which the other does not likewise share
 in, nor can have, while this intimate Union of Soul
 and Body continues the present Life to us. But that
 which is the true Foundation of this Distinction is,
 that there are some Sentiments which affect the Mind
 more than they do the Body, and may therefore
 very fitly be called manly Pleasures; as being more
 proper to us, better suited to our Faculties and Pow-
 ers of Perception, than they are to those of Beasts;
 and as they are more worthy in respect of the Facul-
 ties they are commensurate to, so are they likewise
 more

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1503

more steady and durable. Such, for Instance, are ^{Ch. XXXVIII} those Satisfactions which enter at our Eyes and Ears; for these two Senses are the Doors of the Soul, and the Objects they receive only pass through there in their way to the Soul, which entertains, feeds upon, and digests them, and find long Refreshments and Delights from them. But the Bodies taste but a very little Part of these Satisfactions: Others again, the Body ingrosses almost wholly to it self; such as those of the Touch, and the Taste, which are more material, and of a courser Composition; such as Brutes keep us Company in. And such Pleasures are received, performed, and finished, by the Body and its Organs. The Mind hath no other Advantage in them than by Reflection only, and must needs belong to it, while it continues an Assistant and Companion to the Body. And these are short and transient, the Crackling of Thorns, the Flash of a Meteor; born and bred up, and dead in a Moment.

Now the main thing we are concerned to know upon this Occasion is, how it will become us to behave our selves in the Fruition and Government of our Pleasures. This is the Lesson that Philosophy pretends to teach, and the particular Difficulty Temperance makes Provision against. And here, first, we ought to put a very great Difference between natural and unnatural Pleasures. By the unnatural, I do not understand those only which are contrary to Nature, and such Usages as the Laws have established and approved; but even those which are the most natural of all others are comprehended under this Title, in case they degenerate, and run out into Superfluity and great Excesses: For these things are not within the Verge of Nature, for
the

BOOK III. she concerns her self no farther than meerly to supply our Necessities and real Wants, which (however) we have leave to enlarge a little, and, that we may not complain of scanty Measure, are free to consult Convenience and common Decency. For Example, it is a natural Pleasure to be sheltered by a good tight House, and to have our Nakedness covered with good warm Cloaths; for these secure our Persons from Wind and Weather, and bitter pinching Blasts, and are some Defence against the Attempts of wicked Villains. But now, that those Cloaths should be of Tissue or Embroidery, or that House built of Jasper and Porphyry; this there is no Occasion for, and the Satisfaction which would result from their being such, is not any natural Pleasure. Again, they may be unnatural, if they do not come to us in the Way and Method of Nature; as if they are sought with Anxiety and Industry, procured by Artifice, prepared by Medicines, or any other Stratagems of humane Device and Invention, to create, to heighten, to force either the Appetite, or the Pleasure, by which it is gratified. So they are likewise, when formed and beaten out originally in the Mind, by the Strength of Imagination, or the Violence of Passion, and so are afterwards communicated to the Body; which is just inverting the Order of Nature: For the usual Course is, that Pleasure should begin in the Body, and from thence pass on to the Mind. And indeed, as that Laughter which is forced by Tickling is not natural or pleasant, but rather a Convulsion and Violence upon Nature; so that Pleasure which is courted and industriously contrived, kindled up first in the Soul, and from thence descending to the Body, is not a regular and natural Pleasure.

Now

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1505

Now the first Rule which Wisdom would pre-^{CH. XXXVIII}
scribe with regard to Pleasures, is, to condemn and ^{6.}
utterly abandon all the unnatural, as vicious and
spurious, and to allow and entertain such as are
natural. For, as those who come to a Feast with-
out any Invitation, should be turned home again;
so those Pleasures that obtrude themselves upon us,
without even being bidden by Nature, are to be
looked upon as Busy-Bodies and Smell-feasts, and
either denied Entrance, or thrust out of Doors again.
But neither may we think our selves at liberty to
entertain the true Guests as we please; for even these
must be treated by Rule, and with Moderation. And
thus you have the Duty and Business of Temperance
in general laid before you at once; the whole of
which may be reduced to these two good Offices,
excluding all unnatural Pleasures, and regulating
those that are natural.

Now the Regulation of natural Pleasures will de-^{7.}
pend upon the due Observance of these three Rules.

First, That whatever we indulge our selves in, be
no way offensive or scandalous, injurious or preju-
dicial to any other Person. For where any of these
is the plain and natural Consequence of the thing,
we must forbid our selves the Fruition of it, and seek
out some more innocent and unexceptionable Enter-
tainments.

Secondly, That this Liberty be not to a Man's own
Prejudice, by impairing his Health, casting a Ble-
mish upon his Reputation, devouring his Time, en-
croaching upon his Duty, or being disagreeable and
unbecoming his Office and Character in the World.

Thirdly, That even those which are clear of all
the former Inconveniencies, be taken in due Measure
and Proportion; and our Affections moderated with

s D

regard

BOOK III. regard to them. As we are not to act against the Grain in all we do, so neither must we lay any of those Things which are most with it too close to our Hearts; we should neither court our Pleasures, nor run away from them; neither be averse to them, nor doatingly fond of them; but take their Sweets, as we do that of Honey; a Drop or two upon the Tip of our Finger, not lay it in by whole Handfuls; not engage too deep in them, I mean, nor make them our Business, and the main Design of Life; much less intoxicate and lose our selves in them: For these are additional Comforts, Recreations and Diversions, only to render our Continuance here easy, and give us a better Relish of Life; to refresh and recruit our Spirits, and sustain them under the Fatigues of a troublesome World: As Sleep is intended to make us forget our Cares a while, and inspire us with new Vigour, that we may return to our Work again, and be more sprightly and fresh in Business. In a Word, they are made to use, and not to live upon. But especially, we ought to be very vigilant, and guard our selves strictly, against their deceitful Insinuations: For many of them are bought at too dear a Rate, and do us more Hurt than all their Satisfactions can ever compensate. They leave a Sting behind, and create lasting Remorse, and great Disquiets of Heart: And this is done after a very subtil and treacherous Manner. They put themselves forward, and amuse and cheat us by some present Gratifications, but hide the Hook that lies under this Bait. They put on the Face of Friends to cover their murderous Intentions; caress and embrace us with a seeming tender Affection, but hug us so close with a Design to strangle us. Thus the Pleasures of Intemperance go before the Pains
and

Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 1507

and sick Qualms of it; and thus do the generality ^{Ch. XXXVIII} of those Delights, which Heat of Youth is so prone to, and plunges it self so unwarily in. Then we venture in over Head and Ears, but when we are drowned in them, the Infirmities of old Age succeed; and then they forsake us quite, and leave a miserable Spectacle behind them, as the Tide of Ebb does its Nuisances and Carcasses upon the Shore. The delicious Morfels, which were swallowed so greedily, turn to Gall and Choler upon our oppressed Stomachs, and end in Repentance, and bitter Reflections: And the Dregs of our foul and polluted Enjoyments stick fast to our Souls, and, by their poisonous corroding Quality, infect and corrupt our Dispositions, and settle into ill Habits, and inveterate Diseases.

Now, as Moderation and Regularity in our Pleasures is a most decent and beautiful, a most useful and profitable Thing, agreeable to the Laws of God, the Design of Nature, and the Dictates of Reason: So, on the contrary, Extravagance and Excesses of all sorts are odious and deformed, hateful to God and Man, and the most destructive that can be, both to the publick Good, and Mens own private Interest. Pleasure unduly taken, softens and enervates the Soul, enervates and preys upon the Body, makes Fools of the Wise, and Cowards of the Brave. What a lamentable Instance of this was *Hannibal*, whose Courage was more broken by the Luxuries of *Capua*, than by the rugged Passes of the *Alpes*, or all the Efforts of the *Roman Armies*? This gave Occasion for the *Lacedæmonians*, who denounced open War against all manner of Effeminacy, to be called *Men*; and the *Athenians*, who are soft and delicate in their way of Living, to be reproached with the Nick-name of *Women*.

BOOK III. *men.* When *Xerxes* undertook to punish the City of *Babylon* for a Revolt they had made, and to secure himself against any Danger that might come from that Quarter for the future, the Method he took was, to bring all the Exercise of Arms, and other laborious and fatiguing Practices, into Disuse; and to let loose all manner of Pleasures and sensual Delights among them, with free Liberty for every Man to revel in these without Check or Controul.

Secondly, it banishes all the bravest and most heroic Virtues from the Mind, where it hath taken Possession; for these are serious and severe, considerate and hardy, and cannot be endured by a Master of so contrary a Temper; nor indeed were it possible for them to live under so effeminate and dissolute, so careless and unthinking a Government.

Thirdly, it quickly degenerates, and sinks into its contrary Sentiment, which is Pain and Uneasiness, Dislike and Remorse: As the Freshes run a-pace to the Sea, and lose the Sweetness of their native Rivers in Tides of Salt Water. Thus the Honey of Pleasure in the Mouth upbraids the Eater, and turns to the Gall of Pain upon the Stomach. * *All exquisite Pleasure stands upon a ticklish Point, and all its generous Taste is upon the Turn; sowers, and changes, and is swallowed up in Pain; the very Moment it rises to excessive Joy, Grief dwells upon the Confines, and one Step beyond its own Bounds brings you into this troublesome Neighbour's Ground.*

Lastly, it is the Seminary of all manner of Mischiefs, and final Ruin. This is the Lure to draw us in, and when we are once in, we stick at nothing: This is the Conveyor of secret Intelligences, the Be-

* In præcipiti est, ad dolorem vergit, in contrarium abit, nisi modum teneat: Extrema gaudii luctus occupat.

trayer of Councils and Trusts, the Contriver of CH. XXXIX. Treasons and under-hand Designs against the Peace and Safety of Mankind. In short, the Love of Pleasure ruins private Persons by Prodigality and Injustice; dishonours and stains whole Families by Debauchery and shameless Lewdness; propagates Diseases, and entails Beggary upon Children yet unborn; corrupts publick Justice, murders Kings, overturns Governments, and scatters Confusion and Misery over the Face of the whole Earth: Thus much may be most justly said of Pleasure in general, which being now sufficiently enlarged upon, we will proceed to consider the several Kinds of it in particular.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Of Eating and Drinking, Abstinence and Sobriety.

THE true Design of Meat and Drink is Nourishment; to sustain the Infirmities, and repair the continual Decays of the Body; and a moderate, natural, and agreeable Use of them satisfies and maintains it, makes it a serviceable Instrument for the Mind; whereas, on the contrary, all unnatural Excesses weaken and overwhelm it, draw on grievous and noisome Diseases, which are the just and natural Punishments of Intemperance. * *Health is a plain and simple Thing, and requires a Cause of the same Kind to produce it: Distempers are many and various, and nothing contributes more to them than variety of Disbes, and high Feeding.* When Men complain of their Head for so many troublesome

* Simplex ex simplici causâ valetudo; multos morbos, supplicia Luxuriæ, multa fercula fecerunt.

BOOK III. Defluitions, and those Humours which fall upon the Vitals, and lays the Foundations of the most dangerous Diseases, they should do well to remember, how justly the Brain might return upon them that old Saying, * *Do you give over pouring in, and I will give over pouring out.* While we are perpetually filling the Vessel, how is it possible it should not overflow? But, alas! these Considerations are now grown quite out of Fashion. Excess and Pomp, Variety, and nice Cookery, are come into Reputation. We have learnt to esteem our Meals, and to measure our Welcome by the number of Dishes, the different Sorts of Meats, the height of the Sauces, and the superfluity of the Entertainment. Nay, so prodigious in our Vanity, that after we have set more before our Friends than can be wholesome for them to taste of, or fit for us to spend, we make solemn Excuses for our want of Provision, and are sorry we have nothing better to receive them with.

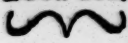
2. How exceeding prejudicial, both to a Man's Body and his Mind, full Meals, and the jumbling several sorts of Meat together, Curiosities and *Qualques Choses*, and high Dressing are, every one might easily be convinced by his own Experience. Gluttony and Drunkenness are gross and paltry Vices; they discover themselves, and sufficiently publish their own Shame in the Countenances and Gestures of the Persons addicted to them. The best and least forbidding whereof, is a dozed and heavy Look; and indeed, the best Quality such Men can have, is to be stupid and dull too. For certain it is, no Man yet, who is a Slave to his Belly, was ever capable of doing any glorious or considerable Action; and, generally speaking, we find them trifling and insig-

* *Desine fundere, & ego desinam fluere.*

nificant Fellows, if not down-right Beasts and Sots. Ch. XXXIX.
 But Drunkenness especially hath these cursed Effects, and pushes Men upon the basest, the most extravagant, and unaccountable Actions in the World: Of which, *Alexander* is a miserable Instance, though otherwise a wonderful Prince; who in Heat of Wine, killed his old dear Friend *Clytus*, and when he came to be sober, had like to have killed himself in Revenge. In short, what can be said bad enough of a Vice that robs the Mind of Understanding, and the Body of Sense; makes grown People Children again, and Men of Wit meer Naturals, and driveling Fools?

Sobriety, therefore, which preserves us from these nauseous and detestable Excesses, deserves our good Esteem for its Effects at least: For although it be none of the most exalted Virtues, nor exceeding difficult to be mastered by Men of any tolerable Sense; yet it leads the way to several other Virtues, and promotes many excellent Qualities. It choaks and crops our Vices in the very Bud, and intercepts the Provisions, by which they should subsist. It is the Mother of Health, and the best Physick for all manner of Diseases; and the most probable Insurer of long Life. *Socrates* owed the vigorous and confirmed Health he enjoyed purely to Abstemiousness. *Masiniſſa*, who was a Pattern of it to all after Ages, begat Children at Fourſcore and six years old, and won a Battle of the *Carthaginians* at Ninety two: Whereas *Alexander*, who had naturally one of the best and strongest Constitutions of any Man that ever lived, killed himself with Drinking in the very Flower of his Age. Several Persons (as *Atticus* particularly) who have been given over by Physicians of the Gout, and other Distem-

3.

BOOK III.  pers looked upon to be incurable, have been perfectly recovered by Abstinence, and a sparing regular Diet. And what can we desire more for the Body, than a long and a healthful Life? What can recommend any Virtue to Men fond of the World, if this will not? But then it is of equal Advantage to the Soul too. For by this means our Heads are kept clear and unclouded, our Faculties awake and sprightly; we are capable of thinking, and fit to be advised. All the very great Men in Story have been particularly eminent for their Sobriety; not only Philosophers, and such as made Pretensions to a strict and severer Virtue, but all that have been excellent, and whose Names live upon Record, for any sort of Greatness whatsoever. Such were *Cyrus* and *Cæsar*, the Emperor *Julian*, and *Mahomet*. Such was *Epicurus* too, who, though a professed Admirer of Pleasure, and run down as a Scandal to Philosophy for espousing it, was yet famous for these abstemious Virtues above any of his Accusers. The *Curii* and *Fabricii* are more celebrated in the *Roman* History for their Frugality and Simplicity of Diet, than for the greatest and most glorious Conquests they ever won. And though the *Lacedæmonians* wanted neither Courage nor Success, nor a Reputation equal to both, yet the Character they valued themselves upon, and pretended most to, was that of strict Discipline, Frugality and Sobriety.

4. Now this is a Virtue which must be fallen in love with betimes; Youth is the proper Time for embracing it, while it can be called a Virtue, while we have more Opportunities of gratifying our Appetite; and while that Appetite is keener too. For how wretched is it, how ridiculous, to take Sanctuary

ctuary here in our old Age, when we have made CHAP. XL.
our selves living Hospitals, and are all over Aches
and Pains? This is a Folly, like that observed in
the *Athenians*; who are said never to have asked a
Peace, but in Mourning Weeds, for their Friends
and Relations slain in Battel, when all their Men
of Note were lost, and they no longer in a Condi-
tion to defend themselves. This is what our *Eng-
lish* Proverb calls, * *shutting the Stable-door when
the Steed is stolen, and turning good Husbands, when
we have brought our Noble to Nine-pence.*

It will be very adviseable, not to use our selves 5.
to delicious and artificial Meats, for fear our Body
should by degrees come to relish no other, and suf-
fer for want of them. For, in truth, these make
our Appetites humourfome, and give us both a false
Hunger, and a deceitful Nourishment. These may
feed our Diseases and ill Humours; but the plainer
and coarser our Diet, the truer Strength and more
kindly Nourishment it imparts. These therefore
we shall do well to accustom our Palates to, if we
would secure our Ease and Health: For they are
easy, and every where to be had; and so our De-
sires are not like to be disappointed when we want;
and they are also lightest of Digestion, and most
agreeable to Nature when we have them.

C H A P. XL.

*Of Luxury, and Excess in Apparel, and their contrary
Virtues, Frugality and Modesty.*

C Loathing was observed in the beginning of this 1.
Treatise, to have been none of those Things
which are natural and necessary, nor to have been

* Sera in fundo parsimonia.

BOOK III. originally in use with Mankind; but it is merely Artificial, invented for our Convenience, and in request with no other Creature in the World. Now it is usual with all Inventions, to encrease and multiply; every Day refines and improves them still more, till at last there is no need of their Variety. Multiplicity is the certain Character of Art, as Simplicity is of Nature. The consequence then of Apparel being Artificial, is, that it runs into infinite fantastical Forms, and differs in proportion to People's Fancies and Humours. Accordingly we find, that the greater Part of Tradesmen and Handicraftsmen deal in such Commodities and Manufactures as are converted to the Defence and Ornament of the Body. But it were well if this only were regarded; for from hence they are come to such Extravagancies and Abuses, that our Garments are no longer a Covering to our Defects, and a Supply to our Necessities, but a Nest of Vanity and Vice.* These are the great Occasions of Quarrels and Disputes; for the Distinction of Property seems to have begun in this Point: When Things were most in common, every Man had a peculiar Title to the Cloaths he wore, which is intimated by the *French* Language in particular, expressing all manner of Rapine, by *Stripping*, *Dérober*, and the *English* Word *Robbing*, is very probably an Allusion to the same Thing.

2. This Vice hath always been most remarkable in the Female Sex, and if it be not entirely theirs, the Scandal is the greater to those Men who descend so low: For there is not in the whole World a surer Sign of a poor and little Soul, than this striving to recommend ones self, and gain Respect by such

* Nidus Luxuriæ.

despicable

despicable Means, as Dress and rich Cloaths: None CHAP. XL.
will insist, none depend upon these Ornaments, but
they who have no other. How wretched a Thing
is it, to consider the Care and Cost laid out upon
Luxury and Shew, and the general Neglect of those
shining Habits of the Mind, that Virtue, that Bra-
very, which should enable us to make a beautiful Ap-
pearance, and sets us off in real and solid Excellencies?
The *Lacedæmonians* prohibited any but common Wo-
men to wear gay and sumptuous Cloaths; this was
look'd upon as the Mark to distinguish such infam-
ous People by, but the Ladies of Reputation de-
sired to be known by their severe Honour and shi-
ning Virtues.

Now the true and lawful Use of Apparel, is to
keep out Wind and Weather, and all other Severi-
ties and Inconveniencies, which our Bodies would
suffer by being exposed to the open Air: And it is a
great Fault, to divert the thing from this to other vain
and sinful Purposes. In order to the answering their
proper End, it is plain, Cloaths need not, they ought
not to be expensive, for the richer they are, the less
are they qualified to defend and secure our Ease: But
then some Regard must be had to Decency too, and
Distinction of Qualities, all which may be done
with Gravity and Frugality, observing the just Me-
dium * between affected Slovenliness and effeminate
Nicety. *Caligula* made himself ridiculous by the Soft-
ness and Fantasticalness of his Habit, and *Augustus*
was as much admired and commended for the Mo-
desty and Gravity of his.

* Nec affectatæ sordes, nec exquisitæ munditiæ.

C H A P. XLI.

Of Temperance, with respect to carnal Pleasure, which is Chastity, or Continency.

BOOK III.

1.

Continency is a Virtue of very difficult Practice, and requires an exceeding strong and vigilant Guard over ourselves: For all our Perfections of this kind are so many Violences upon Nature and Inclination, which are not in any Case to be withstood without much Toil and Painfulness, and very obstinate Resolutions, but in this before us especially; because here the Propensions to Vice seem to be strongest, and the Sollicitations to it more frequent and importunate than in any other Instance whatsoever.

2.

But still the greater the Difficulty of this Conquest is, the greater is its Commendation, and the more just and glorious its Triumph. And very necessary it is, that every Man should rally his Forces, and engage manfully in this War with himself. Continence is allow'd no positive Virtue, and imports no more than a Man's governing and restraining himself, so far as not to act contrary to his Duty. It produces no Fruit, but consists in Privation, and a forbearing to act, and therefore Virginity must always imply Barrenness. This is the Case of Continency considered abstractedly and in its own Nature, which at this rate is of no higher a Class in the Scale of Virtues, than the abstaining from Gluttony and Drunkenness, or any other Sort of vicious Excess. But if we consider it in a Christian and more exalted Sense, then it imports a great deal more: For thus there are two concurring Qualifications which make it a very noble Virtue, the one is a settled Purpose to continue in it pure and unblemished with

with a chaste Mind and mortified Affections, no less than a Body holy and undefiled; the other, that this be done for religious and excellent Ends, to gain greater Advantages of becoming singular and exemplary in Piety, and all manner of Goodness. For (as St. *Augustine* says) *It is not the single State that we commend in Virgins, but their abandoning the World, and consecrating their Souls and Bodies entirely to God*: Witness the Vestals of old, and the five foolish Virgins in the Parable, whose Celibacy stood them in no stead at all. And here I observe by the Way, how absurd a Vanity and popular an Error that is, which in common Speech calls the Ladies who have no Blemish upon their Reputation, and who either are chaste in the single Life, or faithful in the married one, Women of great Virtues and great Honour. Honour! For what? Is Honour sunk so low, that the meer not doing Evil, and not violating one's Duty in the most scandalous Instance, must pretend to that Name? Why do we not, by the same Reason, stile those Men of Honour who are under the same Circumstances? Nay, there would indeed be more Reason for this than the other, because the manner of the World puts more Opportunities of offending in these Respects, and exposes Men to stronger Temptations than Women are liable to. But in Truth, Honour is so far from being a Recompence due to the abstaining from Evil, that it is not every sort of Good, which, when punctually performed, can lay claim to it, but (as was said before) those kinds and degrees of Good only which bring Advantage to the World, and which, besides their being beneficial, have cost great Toil and Trouble, and been atchieved with considerable Difficulty and Danger.

But

BOOK III.

But besides, how few of these continent Persons arrive even at a common and very practicable Virtue? How many of them do we find scandalously tainted with other Vices, and making up for this Self-denial by Indulgences to some more darling Humour or Passion? Particularly, how exceeding few are there who escape the Temptations to Vanity and Presumption, and spiritual Pride, and while they take marvellous Content in their own Perfections, are very liberal in their Censures and Condemnations of other People? Does not Experience frequently convince us, how very dear some Husbands pay for the Fidelity of their Wives, who, while they dispossess the Devil in one Part of their Souls, and preserve their Honour entire, do yet erect a Throne for him, and let him reign triumphant in another? If then this Virtue beget Insolence and Malice, Cenforiousness and imperious Pride, it is like to turn at last but to very poor Account. And thus clogged, will very ill deserve the Name of Virtue, whatever it might be allowed otherwise: Not that I am over scrupulous, or would stand with the Sex for a Complement; and therefore, provided the flattering them with this Title of Honour will contribute any thing to the making them more tender of it, and encourage the Modesty and Decency becoming their Sex and Condition, I shall be content to promote the Discharge of their Duty at any rate, though it be by straining a Point to gratify an useful Vanity. But to return, it is likewise observable, that Incontinency when simply and strictly considered, like other Faults which are what we call Corporeal, and tending to gratify the carnal Inclinations of humane Nature, hath no mighty Malignity in its own single self (it being only an Excess of what is natural, and not

Of Temperance in Carnal, &c. 1519

not contrary to humane Nature) but then there is CHAP. XL
a Train of Vices so black and hideous attending it, and some or more of them so inseparable from it, that the Danger of being entangled in those Snares is infinite, and the Consequence very fatal: For this is one of those Sins that never go alone, but is accompanied with other Devils more and more wicked than itself, tainted with base and villanous Circumstances of Persons and Places, and Times prohibited and unpardonable, Intrigues carried on, and beastly Satisfaction contrived by the wickedest Methods, Lies and Tricks, and all manner of Deceit, Subornation and Forswearing, and Treachery, to all which we may add that which is by no Means inconsiderable, the Loss of Time, the Distraction of Thought, the Interruption of Business, and other unbecoming Follies, which draw very great and just Scandals, and insupportable Mischiefs after them.

Now, because this Vice hath every Quality that can render an Enemy formidable, since it is both violent and deceitful, and attacks us at once with open Force and secret Stratagems, our Care must likewise be double; first, to arm and prepare our selves for the Combat, and then to watch diligently the Approaches, observe its Feints, and be well aware of those Baits and wheedling Insinuations which are laid on purpose to decoy us into Ambushments and Ruine: And the more these Inclinations sooth and cajole us, the more suspicious we must be, and turn the deaf Ear to their flattering Importunities. Among other Considerations therefore fit to be opposed to such Temptations, these that follow may not be improper to reflect upon: That another Person's Beauty is nothing at all to us, what we can never call or make our own: That it is no certain Happiness even to them

BOOK III. them who have it, but turns as often to their Prejudice, and is at least equally disposed to do so as to their Advantage: That in short, it is a Flower always withering, and in Decay; a very small and fanciful thing, little else but the outward Skin, nay less than that, the Colour and Complection of it only: And therefore, if in this we would admire the Delicacy and Skill of Nature, let us prize it here, as we are wont to do those much more astonishing Beauties of the Sun and Moon, for their Excellencies and the good Influences they shed. When we enjoy this Beauty, and have made it our own Property by fair and honest Means, let us even then remember, that this is a very low and mean Satisfaction, so far from being peculiar to the Dignity of humane Nature, that Brutes all partake, and are most of them supposed to exceed us in it; that the immoderate Use of Pleasure wastes the Body, softens and effeminates the Soul, enfeebles and darkens the Understanding; that a world of People have fallen miserable Sacrifices to their inordinate Lusts, some in the Loss of their Lives, others of their Fortunes, and others of their Senses, but the Reputations murdered by it are innumerable. Consider again, that there is more Honour, nay, I will add more Pleasure too, in vanquishing these Desires, than in complying with them. And all the Transports of Fruition are flat and dull, nauseous and insipid, in comparison of those ravishing Satisfactions which overflow in our Souls, when we have gained a virtuous and noble Conquest over our selves. And this is the general Sense of sober Mankind; for there is no one Action in the Life of *Alexander* or *Scipio*, in which their Historians so justly glory, as that of the Treatment they gave to their beautiful Captives, and the Tender-

ness

Of Temperance in Carnal, &c. 1521

ness for their Honour, which the Fortune of War CHAP. XLII was generally thought a Privilege to violate. This Contineney and Conquest of themselves is more highly commended than all their Successes, and hath more-engaging Charms than the fairest of their Prisoners could ever boast of. These, I say, are Considerations pertinent and proper enough, but it cannot be expected they should have a constant Efficacy: For this Vice abounds with Sophistry and Cunning; and as it will not be reasoned with sometimes, so at other Times it will not be safe to go about it; and therefore in Cases of violent Assaults, the best Course will be, to betake our selves to our Heels, and get loose from the Temptation. And it is very observable, that the Holy Ghost which bids us in all ordinary Cases *resist the Devil*, with a Promise *that he shall flee from us*; yet when he mentions *Youthful Lusts*, the Advice is, *that we would flee from them*. James iv. 7. Tim. xli

Debates, as well as Delays, are dangerous here, though Cause must be referred to a Judge under shrewd Suspicions of Corruption; and therefore the safest Issue we can make, is to throw it out, and never give it the Hearing. Business, Recreation, Company, any thing to divert the Stream of our Thoughts and Affections into another Channel: There can be no Difficulty in the Choice; for in such Cases, the worst Company a Man can possibly be in, is to have none but his own.

Now we are to observe, that both the Virtue of Contineney, and its contrary Vice, is of several Kinds and different Degrees: The chief, and that which I shall speak to at present, is the Conjugal sort, that mutual and inviolable Fidelity between Man and Wife, which, as it was the first and highest Obligation,

s E

gation,

BOOK III. gation, so is it the most Sacred, the most Important, and that which both publick Society and private Persons are deeply and inevitably interested in: And therefore this ought to be held in the most profound Veneration and Esteem, and not suffered to become the Jest and common Scorn of profligate Lewdness; the Diversion of a Theatre, or the boasted Triumph of a Man of the Town. The Parties concerned in these holy Engagements must have no Affections, nor cherish any Desires, beyond the chaste Embraces of each other; but utterly abandon the very Wishes of stolen and unlawful Delights, and
 PROV. V. 15. be content to drink the Waters of their own Cistern, and the running Waters of their own Well; that is, pure and innocent, unpolluted and untroubled Delights of a faithful and lawful Marriage, as the wise Man expresses it, according to the usual Significance and extraordinary Decency of the Scripture Stile. They that allow themselves in other Liberties, fall into the blackest and most complicated Guilt imaginable; they violate and sin against their own Bodies, by making them Vessels and Instruments of Uncleaness and Dishonour; they transgress against all manner of Laws which any Man can be bound by; the Laws of revealed Religion, which forbid us to prostitute our selves to Filthiness and Shame, and have commanded the strictest Purity of Conversation; the Law of Nature, which forbids the invading another Man's Property; and the tenderer the Right is to him, the more detestable is the Injustice; the Law of Reason and Equity, which enjoins Fidelity to Stedfastness to Promises and mutual Contracts; the Laws of the Land, which have established Marriages as the only Conveyance of Right, and

Of Temperance in Carnal, &c. 1523

and giving a Title and Propriety in such Cases; the CHAP. XLII
undoubted Rights of Families, by grafting in a foreign Growth upon the natural Stock, injuring the other Children, and transferring the Fruit of a Man's Industry, his Acquisition, or his Inheritance, to Strangers and Interlopers; the Laws of Justice and Charity, by starting Difficulties and Disputes among Friends and Relations; alienating the Affections of Parents from their Children, and dissolving in great measure the Duty of Children to their Parents, when there are these Jealousies among them; and leaving a lasting and indelible Stain upon the unfortunate (though innocent) Posterity of so suspected a Race.

As to the other Parts of this Vice, I add only in one Word, That though Adultery be the highest, yet it is not the only Violation of it: Men would therefore do well to see how many Aggravations of this kind, just now mentioned, concur in any of these Allowances they make to themselves; to lay aside the Bias of their present Passion, and even, in Cases of simple Fornication, ask their own Consciences how they should like to have the Honour of a Sister or a Daughter so injured by another Person; and if they think but scurvily of such a Blemish in a near Relation, this at least makes the Gratification an Offence against Reason and Equity, and natural Justice; nor is it in such Circumstances for a Man to alledge, that the Partner of the Crime is no other Man's, it is enough to condemn him that she is not his own.

C H A P. XLII.

*Of Ambition and Temperance, with regard to the
Desire of Honour and Fame.*

BOOK III.

1.

THAT this is a Desire which stands in great need of being tempered and restrained, no Man can suffer himself to doubt, who at all considers the Inordinancy of the Affection, the injurious Courses it pushes the Patient upon, and the infinite Mischief it does to Society, when the Reins are let loose, and we give it its Head. But though the free Range of this Affection be so pernicious, yet we ought to take notice, that (according to what hath been formerly delivered upon the same Occasion) all Ambition, all Thirst, either of Honour or of Reputation, is not to be condemned without any Distinction, but that as it may be ordered and managed, there is a great deal of Good as well as Hurt in the thing. For thus much may undoubtedly be alledged in its Behalf, that it is of very great Advantage to the State, since, as the World now goes, the generous and publick spirited Actions are most of them owing to it. This pushes Men on to hazardous Attempts, and thus we find it hath ever done; for even among the Antients, it is not to be supposed, that all their so much celebrated Heroes were acted by a truly Philosophical Spirit. There were indeed your *Socrates* and *Phocion*, and *Aristides* and *Epaminondas*, your *Cato's* and *Scipio's* who seem to have been charmed by the bright Ideas of Virtue, without any the least Mixture of additional and mercenary Considerations; but then there were a great many more who were manifestly moved by other Springs, such as *Themistocles*, and
Alexander,

Of Ambition and Temperance, &c. 1525

Alexander, and *Cæsar*, who courted Fame, and were led on by the Prospect of Greatness and Renown. CHAP. XLII.

And though it be very true, that the gallant Exploits of such Persons, when nicely examined and considered, with regard to their proper Motives and the Principles their Authors went upon, be not, strictly speaking, the Product of Virtue, but of Ambition only; yet still they must be acknowledged of general Use and Benefit, and the Consequences of them to the Publick in all Respect the very same, as if the Inducements had been the most refined and perfect that humane Nature is in any Case capable of. Now besides the Force of this Consideration to commend it, the Philosophers have allowed it to be excusable at least upon two Occasions; the one is, when the Actions it excites Men to, are profitable and good, but not in a Degree of Perfection eminent enough to pretend to the Title of Virtuous, because they lie in common to all Mankind, and the good or ill Dispositions of our Minds incapacitate no Person from excelling in them: Of this kind particularly, are Arts and Sciences, humane Inventions, Military Courage, and all manner of Industry in general. The other is, when we find it necessary to preserve the Favour and good Opinion of some Persons upon whom our Interest depends: For though it be a standing Rule in Philosophy, *never to make the Opinion of others the Measure of our Behaviour*; yet there is this Reserve, and allowed Exception, that we may govern our selves upon such Principles, to avoid the Inconveniencies which either the want or contempt of other Men's Approbation may happen to involve us in.

But indeed, for a Man to practise Virtue meerly upon this Account, and aim at Honour and Reputation, as if this were the proper Wages and Recompence of doing well, is not only a very vain and erroneous, but a most dangerous and destructive Principle. This were a horrible Disparagement indeed, that Virtue should be rendered so precarious as to derive all its Value from hence, and to engage our Affections upon no better Considerations than what are drawn from the Judgment of the World: Every body must needs discern the Coarseness of this Allay, and that such Payment ought not to pass upon us. Virtue certainly is not yet so debased as to go a Begging, and desiring Testimonials for a Subsistence. This Reward is much below her seeking; and therefore we should so fix our Minds with true and noble Ideas of her, and settle our Affections so firmly upon the Thing itself, that this accidental Lustre of the Honours attending her may not dazle the Eyes of Reason, but leave us still the Discretion to make a Difference between receiving these as Acknowledgments due for our good Actions, and propounding them to our Minds as the End and adequate Reward of them: So shall we be established upon a true Bottom, and proceed upon Resolutions sincere and immoveable, such as will stand like so many Barriers about the Soul, and guard it against the vain Assaults of Vanity and Ambition, and every mean and selfish Inducement.

3. A Man should be thoroughly perswaded of the Sufficiency and Self-satisfaction of Virtue, that it asks no nobler a Theatre to represent its Excellency in, than one's own Conscience: This is Spectator and Audience enough, and if this applaud the Action,
the

Of Ambition and Temperance, &c. 1527

the Matter is not great who discommends it. The CHAP. XLIII
higher the Sun is above the *Horizon*, the less Shadow
it casts; and the more sublime any Man's Virtue is,
the less Affectation of Honour and Fame it is attend-
ed with: Nor is the Similitude improper, if we
consider the Nature of the thing; for Glory is in
Earnest a very Shadow. it follows those that flee from
it, and runs away from those that pursue it. We
should always remember who sent us hither, and
what we are doing. That Life is a Play where the
Parts are infinitely various, but no Man chooses what
he will act: He acquits himself well who studies the
Humour of the Part assigned him, and performs it
agreeably to its Character, or (as *Epictetus* says upon
another Occasion) that we live in this World as
People sit at an Entertainment, where every well-
mannered Man will be content to feed upon that
Dish which the Master of the Feast helps him to,
without reaching over the Table, and scrambling
and snatching from other Peoples Plates. If then
a Preferment, or some Office of Honour and Trust
be offered to us, if we are capable of discharging it,
let us accept it gladly, but modestly too; and let us
do the Duty of it faithfully and sincerely, assuring
our selves, that God hath set us our Post, and that,
by committing to us a publick Trust, he expects
we should stand Centry, and be continually upon
the Guard; that by our vigilant Care, those who are
committed to our Charge may sleep securely. And
for all this laborious Attendance, let us propose no
other Recompence or Commendation, than that on-
ly of our own Consciences, and the sweet Satisfac-
tions of doing what becomes us; or if others do (as
without Question they will) see and approve our

BOOK III. good Works; let us desire, that the Testimony of our having done well, may be graven in the Hearts of our Country, rather than published by Statues, and pompous Frontispieces, and long flattering Inscriptions. In a Word, let this be a Principle with us, that the Fruit of noble, generous Actions cannot possibly be lost; that the Glory of having done them, is an ample Compensation; and that, when Virtue descends to go out of her self, and look abroad for a Reward, she undervalues her own Worth, and must take up with things beneath her. To despise Greatness, and expose the Vanity of setting our Hearts upon it, is no such mighty matter. He that loves himself, and can make any tolerable Judgment of Happiness, will be content with a moderate and easy Fortune; the Stations that are at the top of Mankind, as they excel in Dignity, so they exceed in Harms, and Difficulty, and Trouble; and those that are at the very Bottom, tormented with Poverty, and anxious Uncertainties of Subsistence, are equally to be declined. Here is too much Business, or too much Suffering for any Man of sound Wisdom to wish; none but sickly Palates will be fond of either. *Otanes*, one of the seven, who had a joint Right to the Principality of *Persia*, quitted his Pretensions to the rest of the Competitors, provided that he and all his Family might live quietly under that Government, and be free from all Subjection, except such as the old standing Laws obliged them to. This was truly Great, neither to affect to command, nor bear to be commanded; and other Instances of contemning Honour and Greatness, we have several in Story; for even *Diclefian* divested himself of the Empire, and *Celestine* quitted the Papacy; so little have the Charms
of

Of Temperance in speaking.

1529

of Sovereignty it self been found upon Trial, and CHAP. XLIII
so far from impracticable is the utmost Pitch of the
Virtue opposite to Ambition.

C H A P. XLIII.

Of TEMPERANCE in speaking.

THough the Government of the Tongue do not usually come under this Head of *Temperance*, yet all People, I suppose, will allow, that there is not any Instance, in which Moderation is more useful and necessary; and that this is so essential a Part of Wisdom, that no Treatise upon this Subject can be tolerably compleat without it. *He that offendeth not in Word, the same is a perfect Man* (says St. James) Book I. Chap. 23. and the Reason is evidently what he gives there at large, that the Tongue is all in all: Good and Evil proceed from it; Life and Death depend upon it: Which being formerly illustrated at large, all that lies upon me to do more at present, is only to lay down some short and plain Directions for our Conduct and good Management of so very important a Member.

Let our Discourse then be sober and sparing: The knowing how and when to be silent is a mighty Advantage, and contributes exceedingly to our knowing how to speak; for he that is unskilful in one of these Points, can never be expert in the other. To talk much, and to talk well, are Qualities that seldom or never go together; and therefore one of the Philosophers made it his Observation, that the most accomplished Men are generally

BOOK III. ly they that say least. Those that abound in Words, are commonly barren both in good Sense and good Actions, like Trees, which when they shoot in great Quantities of Leaves, bear little Fruit, or lean Corn, that runs all into Straw. The *Lacedemonians* (of whom we have made so frequent Mention for their noble Improvements in Virtue and Valour) were no less memorable for Silence, and made this one Part of their solemn Profession, to educate their Youth in a modest and reserved Way of Conversation. So justly, so generally, is this Sort of Restraint approved and commended; so necessary, so prudent is that Prayer of the Psalmist, that God would enable him by his Grace, to *set a Watch before his Mouth, and keep the Door of his Lips*. An Emblem of this we have in the Mosaical Institution; where, among many Typical Representations of Moral Duties, this seems to be one, that every Vessel was unclean, which had not a Cover fastned to it: And the wisest Author that ever wrote, hath left us this Mark to distinguish Men by, *The Heart of Fools is in their Mouth, but the Tongue of the Wise is in their Heart*.

2. A second Qualification absolutely necessary upon this Occasion, is Truth; without this, the End of Speech is utterly perverted and lost: For Speech was principally designed to be assisting to Truth, in bringing others to the Knowledge of it, by representing every thing in its native and proper Colours, and discovering the Mysteries of Error and Deceit; that being thus detected, they may no longer have it in their Power to mislead our Judgments. For what indeed is Speech, but a Key to our Thoughts? An Instrument of Communicating what

we

we feel, and see, and desire, and so of transfusing CHAP. XLIII.
our whole Hearts into the Bosoms of them with whom we converse? Now this makes it obvious to every considering Man, that Fidelity and exact Truth ought to be an inseparable Attendant upon every Word we utter; for there is no other Method of conveying our Intelligence, no other Glass in which we can see one another's Souls; and therefore it is as much as all the Benefits of Conversation and Commerce, and this noble Prerogative of Mankind is worth, to take Care that the Mirrour cast no false Reflections. He that falsifies in his Discourse, ought to be treated as a common Enemy, detested as a Traitor to publick Society; for if when once this Footing fails us, we have no fresh Ground to stand upon; all Faith and Security is given up, and we know not where to have Men, nor what to make of them. How vile the Sin of Lying Chap. 2. is, hath been declared before. They who practise it out of Design, are of all Wretches the most profligate and despicable; and they who do it in Rail-lery, should consider how insolent a Thing it is to banter and abuse the Credulity of Mankind; and that Truth and mutual Faith are Things much too serious and too weighty to be made a Diversion, and sacrificed to the Itch of an unmannerly Jest.

Thirdly, Our Expressions should be natural, and modest, and chaste, provoking no Blushes, offensive to none, even the most nice and purged Ears; our Discourse free from Vehemence and Contention; for in such Cases, Men seem to be more concerned for themselves than for the Truth; and to speak not so much the Reason of the Thing, as their own Passions. Speech was designed for a mutual

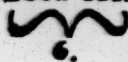
Book III. tual Comfort and Improvement, to inform and mend
 Mens Minds, not to corrupt and seduce them: And
 therefore, as Artifice and Affectation is nauseous,
 so Indecency and Lewdness, and every thing that
 tends to Obscenity or Licentiousness, is wicked and
 abominable.

4. Fourthly, Our Discourse should be serious and significant, profitable and advantageous, not trifling, and impertinent, and vain. The little Tattle of the Town, what is done at the Court, or the Park, or the Play-house, how People were dressed, and how they behaved themselves; repeating idle Verses, Scraps of Plays, and little foolish Jest, and telling frivolous Stories, though they make up so very considerable a Part of modish Conversation, are yet (to speak freely) Signs of a great Poverty of Thought, and have more of the Buffoon, than of the Man in them. He that provides no better Entertainment for his Company than all this amounts to, is at a very low Ebb, and shews, that he hath spent a great deal of Time to very small Purpose. How very little hath a Man to do, that employs himself at this rate? And what precious Account does all that Leisure turn to, which hath been laid out upon qualifying himself for so noble and accomplish'd a Way of Discourse? Under this Head of Trifling and Impertinence, I think we may very well reckon that Folly of entertaining Company with long Accounts of our selves, and our own Affairs; what Feats we have done, or what Calamities we have suffered; or of what Consequence soever these Things may be to us, they are of none at all to the Persons we tell them to, except it be to give them a Taste of our Folly, and from a Dislike of
 our

our Conversation, to avoid the same Absurdity in their own. We fancy, because these Accidents are pleasing to us, that they are so to them; but alas! the Difference of Persons should be considered; for to render the Story agreeable to tell, there needs no other Recommendation, than that our selves are at the Bottom of it; but then the very same Reason renders it as nauseous to the Healer, not only because he finds no Concern of his own there, but from that natural Aversion and Disdain we bear to Men, who are always big and full of themselves, and have the Vanity to suppose, that whatever relates to them is worthy to be the Concern of all they converse with.

But especially, we should be careful not to transgress this Rule of profiting others, by running into the contrary Extrême of injurious or offensive Language; for Speech is, in the very original Intention of it, an Instrument and Harbinger, a Reconciler and Uniter of Mankind; and therefore to apply it to any Purposes contrary to these, is to abuse and pervert the Nature and Design of it. This Consideration was never more necessary than now; and, if applied to the modern Way of Conversation, would soon convince us, how vainly those Persons pretend to Wit, and Sense, and Honour, whose whole Discourse consists of Slander, Detraction, Mockery or Reproach, sacrificing the Reputations of the Absent to an ill-natured Jest, or exposing and ridiculing their Defects, by Mimickry and Buffoonry; all which are infinitely unbecoming the Character such Men aspire after, and a Diversion too base and barbarous for any wise or good Man to allow himself in.

Our



Our Discourse should be easy and pleasant, courteous and entertaining, not rough and harsh, difficult and troublesome. For this Reason, it will require some Prudence in the Choice, or the declining of our Subject: We should contrive, as much as possibly we can, to start nothing but what will keep our Company in good Humour, never to engage in Controversies, where any that are present shall find themselves concerned; for this either disoblige, if they think fit to let the Argument fall, or else it draws them into Disputes, and occasions Warmth, and Uneasiness, and perhaps Coldness, and angry Resentments afterwards. But though there should be no personal Interest in the Case, yet nothing of Controversy in general should be industriously begun; for common Discourse is not the proper Season for that: If the Question be substantial, and of great Concernment, the Respect of a private Conference is due to it; but if it be some nice and subtil Point, it is not worth so much as our common Talk: Such Questions have been aptly enough compared to Crab-fish, of which some are all Shell, and when we have taken great Pains to open and prepare them for our Palates, nine Parts of ten must be thrown away, and a very poor Pittance remains fit for eating: Their difficult and abstruse Speculations raise a Noise and a Dust, but when we examine what Account they turn to, little comes of them but Heat and Clamour, and Contradiction.

7. Our Expressions should be strong and clear, our Arguments sinewy and full, not loose, and flat, and languishing; and therefore we should observe and avoid the Formality of Pedants, the stiff-set way of Pleaders,

Pleaders, and the impertinent Affectation of the Ladies. CHAP. XLIII.

8.

This particular Sort of Temperance extends likewise to one very necessary Virtue, which I think may not unfitly be called the Continuance of the Tongue: That, I mean, of keeping Secrets; which, though already spoken to in the Chapter concerning Fidelity, I thought not improper to mention again here: And the rather, because I take Secrets here in a more large and comprehensive Sense; so that the Virtue at present prescribed, does not only oblige us not to disclose those Things which were committed to our Trust under the Seal of Secrecy, but also to suppress whatever in Prudence and our own Discretion appears unfit to be divulged: All that is dangerous, or of ill Consequence, all that can any way reflect upon our own, or be injurious to another's Reputation. In a Word, so strict a Guard, so steady a Conduct in all our Conversation, that our Tongue may not out-run our Judgment, and that neither our own Consciences, or those we keep Company with, upon the severest and most impartial Recollection, have Cause to accuse us of saying any thing which was not fit to be said. This is of greater Importance, and needs to be more diligently attended to, than People seem generally well aware of; and yet it is no more than every Man's own Reflections upon the indecent Gaieties, and unthinking Freedom in Conversation, and the many ill Effects and hard Censures these produce, may soon convince him of, and satisfy him, not only of the Beauty and Comeliness, but of the Safety and great Advantage there is in a modest and cautious

Reserve:

BOOK III. Reserve. While the Word is kept in, it is entirely our own, but if it once break loose from us, it can never be retrieved; we have lost all our Property and Jurisdiction, and must stand to the Courtesy of the World, who will make what Use they please of it, and very seldom are just or good natured enough to make the right Use, or to understand it as innocently as we intended it.

9. Now as the Advantage of Speech in general is an Excellence peculiar to Mankind, and sets us above Brutes; so Eloquence exalts those that are Masters and Professors of it, above the Rate of common Men: For this is the Art, or Science of Speaking, a more accurate and exquisite Way of communicating our Thoughts, of enforcing and adorning Reason: This is the Rudder of the Soul that steers and turns Men, and sets us at the Helm of our Audience, to carry them whither we please: It falls in with the Heart, and secretly moves our Passions, like the Chords in Musick, which, in a skilful Composition, conspire together to make a more perfect and delightful Harmony.

10. By Eloquence, I mean all that is necessary to make an accomplished Orator. For this does consist, not only in Perspicuity and Purity of Expression, the Elegance and Propriety of the Words, the happy Choice and regular Disposition, the Fullness and Roundness of the Period, and the Justness of a sweet and musical Cadence, but it must also be assisted and strengthened by other Ornaments and Graces, and Motions of the Person himself: Every Word should be inspired with Life and Vigour; first, by a clear and sweet Voice, a proper and distinct Pronunciation, rising and falling, gently and easily,

easily, as is best accommodated to the Matter and Design: Then by a grave and unaffected Action, where the Countenance, the Hands, the whole Body, the every Part and Gesture speak as well as the Mouth, all follow the Movements of the Soul, and give a lively Image of the Affections within. For the Orator is the Representative of his Audience, and must first of all, in his own Person, put on the several Passions which he labours to infuse into others.

* *We weep and laugh as we see others do :
He only makes me sad, who shews the Way,
And first is sad himself, then (Telephus)
I feel the Weight of your Calamities,
And fancy all your Miseries my own. — L^d. Rosc.*

It is in such Cases with the Standers by, as it was with *Brasidas* and his Enemy, who drew the Dart out of his own Wound, with which he stabbed him to the Heart. Thus Passion is first conceived and formed in our own Mind, then born and brought into the World by apposite Expression, and afterwards, by a subtil and quick Contagion, conveyed into others, and begets its Likeness there. By this short Reflection it sufficiently appears, that Men of soft and gentle Tempers are not cut out for Orators. Their Spirits are too sedate and sluggish to communicate any powerful Impressions. They want the Force and Fire, the Sprightliness and Activity that is necessary to animate what they say. And when such Persons would display the more Masterly Beauties of Eloquence, they languish and falter by the

* ——— Si vis me flere, dolendum est ———
Primum ipsi tibi : tunc tua me infortunia lædent,
Telephe. ——— *Hor. de Arte Poet.*

5 F

Way,

BOOK III. Way, and drop short of the Mark. Thus *Cicero* reproached *Callidius*, who accused *Gallus* with a sneaking Voice and languishing Action, by telling him, that his Coldness and Indifferency betrayed the Falseness of his Charge. But when a Man hath all that Vigour and Ornament touched upon before, his Words will be as strong and compulsive as the Commands of a Tyrant with all the Pomp and Terror of his Guards about him. They will commit an irresistible Violence upon the Soul; not only persuade and draw, but drag his Auditory whether they will or no, lead them in Triumph, and establish to themselves an absolute and arbitrary Dominion over the Minds of Men.

- II. It may perhaps be objected in Prejudice of Eloquence, that all this Skill is needless, since Truth alone is sufficiently powerful and persuasive, and stands in need of no studied and artificial Practices to vindicate, or to recommend it. And indeed, were the Minds of Men free, and pure, unprepossessed with Passion or Interest, or any other prejudicate Opinion, the Objection must be allowed to have a great deal of Weight in it. But we are to consider and deal with Men, according to the State we find them in, a State of Corruption and Prejudice, in which Art or Nature, Misinformation or ill Habits, have bribed and biased their Affection, and made them draw the wrong Way, and bent them violently against the Truth. And thus they come to require a sort of Treatment very different from that which is most agreeable to their original Constitution. As therefore we are forced, first of all, to soften and open the Pores of the Steel by Fire, that it may afterwards receive that Liquor which tempers

pers it, and grow harder in the Water: So the Warmths of Eloquence are necessary to put the Spirits in Motion, and by rendering the Minds of Men more supple and pliable, to give them a stronger and more lasting Tincture of Truth. This is the true and proper Design of Eloquence, and the End it should constantly aim at is, to fortify and protect Virtue against Vice, Truth against Falshood, and Innocence against Calumny and false Accusation. The Orator (*says Theophrastus*) is the true Physician of Souls, and his Business must be, to cure the venomous Bitings of Serpents by the Charms of his Musick, that is, the poisonous Slanders, and false Insinuations of wicked Men, by the Harmony of Reason, set out to the best Advantage. But since there is no Possibility of cutting off ill Men from the Use of this Advantage too, since they will be sure to seize and usurp the Weapon, for the more effectual Execution of their mischievous Designs, we are the more concerned not to go into the Field naked, but to beat them at their own Weapon, and with equal Industry and Skill to counterwork them, that so Virtue and Truth may not be circumvented, or tamely lost, for want of proper Preparations to defend it. Several indeed have abused their Attainments of this kind to very villainous Purposes, and made Eloquence the Instrument of Ruin and Oppression to private Persons, and whole Communities of Men. This is a melancholy Truth, too manifest to be denied. But then the Consequence of granting it must be, not to despise or set aside the Thing, upon the account of any ill Effects that have followed upon the Misemployment of it. No, this is a Misfortune common to every thing that is useful and excellent;

for none of these are so necessarily confined to Goodness, but that they are capable of being perverted to very great Evil. Nature hath provided them with an Aptitude and Efficacy, but it will depend upon the Disposition of the Person that manages those Powers, what sort of Effects those natural Abilities shall be applied and determined to. For even that Reason and Understanding, which is the peculiar Prerogative of humane Nature, and sets us above Brutes, is most miserably abused, turned against God and ourselves, and made the Occasion of our more inexcusable Ruin; but this is only an accidental Misfortune, far from the natural Tendency of so noble a Privilege. And he who would argue from hence, that Mankind had better want these Faculties, may justly seem to have degenerated into Brute, and to be forsaken of all that Reason which he so wildly and so rashly condemns.

F I N I S.



A N

I N D E X.

A ^{A.}
bsence of the Object whets
 the Will. Page 185
Abstinence, Considerations
 upon it 1510
Academick Philosophers, their Way
 of Writing 363
Accidents. See *Calamities*.
Action in the Field. See *General*.
Action, single, no Judgment to
 be formed from it 12
Administration of a Prince, Dire-
 ctions relating to it, 1084, 1085,
 &c. Peaceable Administration,
 1110, Military Administration
 1116
Adversity and Prosperity, which
 the harder to bear evenly, 807,
 Reflections against it, 815, it is
 not Evil in its own Nature, *ib*.
 It proceeds from three Causes,
 Sin, Anger of God, and the Po-
 lity of the World, 818, &c. 'Tis
 of two kinds, real or imaginary,
 822. Remedies against real Af-
 flictions *ib*.
Advice, how to behave in asking
 it, 880, 881. Truth and Free-
 dom in giving Advice 1271
Affairs, intricate and uncertain
 1172
Afflictions. See *Adversity*.
Affection of Subjects. See *Good Will*.
Age (Old) compared with Youth,
 318

Air, a necessary Medium for Sen-
 sation 88
Alliances proper for a Prince, 1081.
 Several Sorts and Degrees of
 them 1083
Ambition defined, 201. It's natural
 to us, 202. Its Strength and Su-
 periority, 203. It conquers all
 other Passions, *ib*. It conquers
 not only Health and Ease, but
 even the Care of Life, the Laws,
 Religion, and natural Affection,
 204, 205, &c. Noble and Ge-
 nerous Spirits most liable to it,
 208. It operates different Ways,
 209. The Folly of it, *ib*. 'Tis
 insatiable, 210. The Excuses for
 it vain, 211. It covers many
 Vices, but reforms never a
 one, *ib*. *Ambition* described and
 exposed 1524
Anger described, 230. Its Causes,
 230, 231. Signs of it 233. Its Ef-
 fects, 234. 'Tis never to be
 convinced of Folly, 237. Re-
 medies against Anger 1474
Animal Spirits necessary for Sen-
 sation 86
Animals, a Comparison between
 Man and other Animals, 268.
 Things common to both, 270.
 A mutual Correspondence be-
 tween them, 275. Their re-
 spective Differences and Ad-
 vantages 275, 276, &c.

I N D E X.

- Antiquity.* See *Birth*.
Apparel, the Invention of Art, not the Dictate of Nature, 45. Excess in Apparel censured and exposed 1513
Appetite defined 123
Apprehension described, 145. See *Imagination*.
Army, whether Horse or Foot in it ought to be strongest, 1126, 1127. Whether native or foreign Soldiers are best, 1127. The Difference between standing and subsidiary Forces, 1129. The proper Qualifications of the Soldiers, 1132, 1133, 1134. The proper Discipline of them, 1134, 1135. Qualifications of Officers, 1139, 1140. Three Virtues to be established in an Army, Continnence, Modesty, Abstinence, 1138, 1139. See *General*.
Art. See *Invention*.
Assurance, Moderation between it and Fear 883
Avarice, a stupid senseless Passion, 200. What it is, 213. It banishes all other Regards, whether natural or virtuous, 214. The Folly and Misery of it, *ib.* The contrary Passion described and exposed, 218. *Avarice* in a Prince exposed 1104
Authority a bad Rule to walk by, 182
Authority a necessary Pillar to support a Government, 1090. 'Tis acquired and preserved principally by Severity, 1091. By Constancy, 1094. and by keeping the Helm in one's own Hand 1096

B.

Banishment no substantial Evil 1454
Bashfulness in Children, how to be corrected 1369
Bassels. See *Generals*.
Beasts. See *Animals*, *Brutes*.
Behaviour. See *Conversation*.
Behaviour proper for a Prince 1050
Believing and misbelieving, a great Instance of humane Presumption 414
Beauty, a great Advantage of the Body, 36. Its wonderful Influence, 37. The Different Sorts of it, 38. The Beauty of the Body seated in the Face, 39. The Beauty of the Face described, 42. Beauty of the Body and Mind 43
Beneficence, of Use to a Prince for gaining the Affection of his Subjects, 1089. The Difficulty of true Beneficence, 1290. Motives to it, 1291, &c. Two Sorts of it, one procuring Admiration and Esteem, the other Love and good Will, 1295. The Difference between internal and external *Beneficence*, *ib.* Rules for *Beneficence*, 1297. *Beneficence* reciprocal 1311
Benefits, several Sorts of them, 1309. Obligation arising from Benefits received 1311
Birth, Nobility of Birth compared with Nobility acquired 564
Body of Man, the Excellency of its Form and Contrivance, 19, 20, 21. It must be before the Soul, 22. Its constituent Parts, 27. 'Tis divided into four Stories or Apartments, 28. The whole Fabrick of the Body described, *ib.* &c. The peculiar Excellencies of it, beyond that of a Brute, 33. The other Advantages of it, 35. Conformity between Body and Mind agreeable to Nature, 43. The Apparel for the Body, 45. How the Soul enters the Body, 65. The Body causes Defects in the Soul, 170.

I N D E X.

170. The many Miseries of Man in respect to his Body, 370, 371. Bodies of Children to be taken care of as well as their Souls 1368
- Brain*, properly the Instrument of the reasonable Soul, 128. Its Temperaments explained, *ib.* &c. Three different Temperaments of it requisite for Understanding, Memory, and Imagination, *viz.* dry, moist, and hot, 129, 130. These three distinguish the Excellencies of the Mind, 131. Their Number cannot be exceeded *ib.*
- Briskness* of Parts dangerous, 163, 164
- Brutes*. See *Animals*. Whether they partake of Reason, 278. Their natural Instinct rejected, 282. Whether they are naturally subject and in Servitude to Man, 287, 288. Man has no mighty Advantages of Nature above Brutes 293
- Business*. See *Company* and *Prudent*. C.
- Calamities*, future, considered, 1164. To labour to endure them, a surer Way than to endeavour to escape them, 1165. Two Remedies under present Calamities, *viz.* to divert them, and to stoop under the Blow, 1167, &c. Directions to fortify us against publick Calamities, 1428. Directions against private Calamities, 1434
- Captivity*, an inconsiderable Affliction 1451
- Carnal Pleasures*, Temperance with respect to them 1516
- Ceremony* described, 856. How and in what Sense Observance of Ceremonies in Use is necessary 856, 857
- Chastity*, Considerations upon it, 1516
- Children*, how they ought to be instructed, 1328. *Lacedemon* and *Crete*, the only Constitutions where the Disciplining of Children was prescribed by National Laws, 1330. 'Tis in vain to found for the Inclinations of Children, *ib.* General Rules relating to the Instruction of Children, 1331. Beating of Children and using them harshly, a great Fault, 1334. See *Education* and *Tutors*.
- Children*, their Duty to their Parents, consisting in Reverence, 1381. Obedience, 1382. Succouring them, *ib.* Taking their Advice, 1384, and covering their Imperfections 1385
- Children*, a mighty Strengthening to a Prince's Interest 1109
- Children*. See *Paternal*.
- Choice*, of a particular End, difficult, 715. How to make a wise Choice 877
- Civil War*, the quickest End of it always the best, 1203. Agreement or Victory, the only Means for that End, *ib.* but the former, though disadvantageous, is the better *ib.*
- Civility*, how Vanity is crept into it 331
- Clemency*, a necessary Virtue in a Prince 1040, 1041
- Climates*, different, make a great Difference of Men, 439. Men distinguished into Classes answerable to the respective Climates of the World, 442. The Differences derived from Climates, proved with respect to the Body, 443. With respect to the Mind, 443, 444. With respect to Religion, 444. With respect to Manners and Dispositions, 445. The true Cause of these Differences 447

I N D E X.

- Gloathing*, the Invention of Art, not the Dictate of Nature 45, &c.
- Cold*, no Argument of the Necessity of Cloaths, 47. *Cold*, Temperament, in what Sense it is of use to the Understanding 131
- Combinations*. See *Factions*.
- Command* and Obedience, the Nature of it described 465
- Common* People, in what Sense here taken, 330. Their Qualities *ib.* &c.
- Common*, a Life in common compared with that of distinct Properties 350
- Commotions* of the Mind, owing to Vanity, 329. And likewise publick Commotions 333
- Comparison* between Man and other Animals, is useful, but difficult, 268. Comparison of Men with Men 435, &c.
- Compassion* described, 261. How it is vicious and foolish, *ib.* Remedies against Compassion 1473
- Company*, a Life of Company and Business compared with Solitude 544
- Concupiscible*, Part the Seat of six Passions, three for Good, three for Evil 195
- Confession* of Faults 711
- Conspiracies*, Remedies against them when undiscovered, 1177. And when discovered 1180
- Constancy*, a suitable Expedient for preserving a Prince's Authority 1094
- Contempt* of the World, that Opinion described, 787, 788, and disapproved 789, &c.
- Contempt* of Death, when good, 926
Contempt from Subjects the greatest Murderer of a Government, 1107. 'Tis occasion'd by a Prince's supine Negligence, or Misfortunes, or lewd Life 1108
- Content*, vain Notions of it, 334.
335. True Content of Mind, how to attain it 959
- Continency*, a difficult, but very commendable Virtue 1516
- Conversation*, common, the Vanity of it, 331. Modest and obliging Behaviour in it, 858. Two Sorts of Conversation, common and particular, *ib.* Advice upon the first, 861. Directions for the Second 864
- Counsel* of a Prince, Directions about it, 1051, 1052. Qualifications of Counsellors, *viz.* Faithfulness, 1059. Ability and Experience, *ib.* Freedom and Bravery, 1055. Secrecy 1057
- Country* Life compared with a Town Life 552
- Courage*. See *Fortitude*.
- Creation* of Man, the Order of it 18, &c.
- Credulity*, a Cause of Anger, 232. A great Instance of Presumption 414
- Cruelty*, its Difference from Revenge, 247. The Nature and Causes of it, 248, 249. Cruelty in a Prince exposed 1102
- Curiosity*, a Cause of Anger, 232. A great Instrument of our own Misery 378
- Custom*, a powerful Remedy against Sufferings, 827. How, and in what Sense, Compliance with Customs is necessary, 831. Custom described, 834. Law and Custom compared, *ib.* Different and odd Customs, 836. Customs examined and judged, 838. The Force of Custom, 843. A Piece of Levity and Presumption in condemning Customs of foreign Countries not conformable to our own, 853. See *Laws*. D.
- Dangerous* Cases, both Wisdom and Courage necessary in them 1173
- Death*,

I N D E X.

Death, living in a constant Readiness for it, 891. The Day of Death, 892. Five Sorts of Behaviour with regard to Death, 895. Fear of Death the Effect of vain Opinion, 896. Of Weakness, 899. Of Injustice, 900. 'Tis prejudicial to Life, *ib.* Remedies against it, 902. The usual Apologies for the Fear and fleeing of Death, stated and answered, 906, &c. Arguments against this Fear, importing, that Death is natural, 917. Necessary, 920. Just and Reasonable, 923. Contempt of Death good, if upon a good Account, 926. Desire of Death restrained to the Case of Extremity, Distress, and that of religious Longings, 933, 936. Voluntary Death, or Self-murder, considered at large, 937, &c.

Deceit, two Sorts of it necessary in a Prince 1030

Defects of the Soul. See *Soul*.

Degrees, three Degrees of Men in the World 452

Desires infinite, 226. Their Distinctions, *ib.* Some natural, some beyond Nature, 227, &c. See *Pleasures*.

Desire of Death examined 933

Despair described 229, 230

Die, to know how to die 895
See *Death*.

Difference of Men. See *Man*.

Difficulty whets the Will 185

Difficulties. See *Calamities*.

Difficult and dangerous Cases 1173

Diffidence, a necessary Qualification of a Prince 1026, 1027

Discipline. See *Army*.

Discourse. See *Ratiocination*.

Disgrace, several Sorts of it examined 1462, 1463

Disposition, naturally good, whence it proceeds, 687. Naturally

cross and unmanageable, how to be cured 689

Disimulation vicious in private Persons, but commendable in Princes 1029

Dissolute Manners in a Prince draw contempt from his Subjects 1109

Distinction between Man and Man probably first owing to Beauty, 36. Several Distinctions of Men 435, &c.

Distrusting others. See *Diffidence*.

Divisions of a State, how a Prince should behave in them, 1185, &c. How private Persons should behave in them 1284

Divorce differently practised 487

Domestick Life. See *Private*.

Dominion and Command, whether Man has that Advantage over Brutes 287

Dreams, the unspeakable Variety of them in Men beyond other Animals 34

Duties, universal, due from all to all, 1242, &c. *Duties* special, arising from special and personal Obligations 1319
E.

Easiness of Temper the first Degree of Integrity 691

Easiness of Humour, a necessary Ingredient in all Conversation, 859. It ought to be particularly promoted in Children 1373

Eating, Man and Beasts equally fitted for it by Nature, 273. Directions concerning Eating and Drinking 1509

Education of Children. See *Children*.

Education of Children consists in three Particulars, *viz.* Forming their Minds, 1339. Taking care of their Bodies, 1368. And of their Manners 1369

End, fixing to one's self a particular

I N D E X.

cular End, fundamental Point of Wisdom, 714. This is no easy Matter 715
Envy described, 241. Remedies against *Envy* 1484
Epicurus vindicated as to his Assertion of the Fidelity of the Senses 104, &c.
Error, vulgar, Exemption from it, the first Disposition to Wisdom 595
Estates, Disproportion of *Estates*, whence caused 584
Estate, a Parent ought to take Measures from the Laws of his Country in the Disposal of it 1379
Estimate, just, of things, how to make it 872
Evil, Man impotent in *Evil* as well as Good, 335. Remembrance and Anticipation of *Evils* a great Addition to our Misery 376
Evils. See *Calamities*.
Evil, distinguished into External and Internal, 1427. External *Evils* considered in three several Respects, 1428. viz. With respect to their Causes, *ib.* Their Fruits and Effects, 1439. And as they are in themselves particularly, 1443. External *Evils* give good Men an Opportunity of improving their Virtue, 1441. They produce excellent and necessary Effects, 1442. External *Evils* reduced to seven Heads, viz. Sickness and Pain, 1444. Captivity, 1451. Banishment, 1454. Want, 1457. Disgrace, 1462. Loss of Friends, 1463. and Death, 1465. Internal *Evils*, Directions against them 1466, &c.
Extasy, or Rapture, threefold, viz. Divine, Dæmoniacal and Humane, 75, 76. No Certainty of the Separation of the Soul in any of them 77, 78, 79

External Evils. See *Evils*.

F.

Face, the loveliest thing in the Body, 39. The particular Properties of it, 40. The Beauty of it described 42

Factions and Combinations ought to be crushed, 1190. 'Tis a false Notion that a Prince is safer by them, 1189. A Prince should be of no Party, 1191. Punishment of factious Persons should be as scanty as possible, 1192. How private Persons should behave in such Cases 1204

Faculties of the Soul, 56. See *Vegetative*, *Sensitive*, *Intellectual*, *Memory*, *Imagination*. — The Properties of the several *Faculties*, 133. The *Faculties* compared together, 134. The true State of the three *Faculties*, Understanding, Memory and Imagination, represented by a Similitude 136

Faith. See *Fidelity*.

Fancy described, 122. See *Imaginative*.

Fame, Considerations upon Temperance in the Desire of it 1524

Fashions govern Mankind 182

Fault, whether it be allowable to do a Fault, 703. Of confessing and excusing Faults 711

Fear described, 262. The Malice and Tyranny of it, 263. The Folly and Imprudence of it, 265. The different Effects of it, 266. Panick Fears described, 267. Moderation between Fear and Assurance, 283. Fear of Death. See *Death*.

Fear, Remedies against it 1467

Feminine Beauty. See *Beauty*.

Fidelity, the Excellence of it, 1259.

The Rarity of it, 1260. The necessary Considerations upon this Head, relate either to the Person

I N D E X.

- son that engages, 1261, or the Person to whom the Engagement is made, 1262, or the Matter of the Promise, 1266, or the Manner of promising *ib.*
- Flattery*, dangerous to private Persons, but the utter Ruin of Princes, 1276. Princes and Ladies lie most open to it, 1278. And why, *ib.* How to distinguish Flattery from Friendship, 1280. Lying a common Companion of it 1284
- Fondness*, foolish, a Cause of Anger 232
- Forces*. See *Army*.
- Forefight*, a powerful Remedy against Affliction, 828. The Method to attain it 829
- Formalists* described 401
- Formation* of Man, twofold, *viz.* Supernatural and Natural, 17. The gradual Formation of the Body in the Womb 23, 24
- Fortitude* described in general, 1416. The *Latins* called it *Virtus*, 1417. Its Object is both external and internal Evil 1427
- Forwardness* to serve other People, the Inconveniencies of it, 653. How to moderate it 656
- Frailty*. See *Weakness*.
- Freedom* of thought. See *Liberty of the Mind*.
- Friends*, Loss of them considered 1463
- Friendship*, common, described, 1250. Perfect Friendship described, 1254. Examples of this Friendship 1256
- Frugality* described and recommended 1513
- Funds*, what are most proper in a Government 1066
- Futurity*, the Vanity of Concerns for it 327
- G.
- General*, Directions for his Conduct in the Field, 1142, 1143. Directions relating to the Time, Place, and Manner of Engagements, 1146, &c. Rules for forming Battels, 1149, 1150. Rules of Behaviour in the Time of Action itself 1151
- Generation* observes the same Order with Creation 23
- Generative* Faculty, the highest in the Vegetative Class 84
- Gentleness* necessary in a Prince for gaining the Affection of his Subjects, 1087. How to temper it with due Severity 1091, &c.
- God*, Directions to know God, 767. To honour him, 768. To serve him with Spirit and Body 769, 770
- Goodness* or Evil of the Object gives the Distinction of the Classes of the Passions, 195, 196. Original Propensity to Goodness, whence it proceeds, 687. The Difference between that and Softness 688
- Good-Will*. See *Will*;
- Government*, publick, the Nature and Necessity of it, 504. Prudence in Government. See *Polity*.
- Grace* of God necessary to compleat moral Virtue, 696, 697. Grace and Nature are not contrary Principles, 699. But Grace supposes Nature as its necessary Foundation 700
- Gratitude*, the due Qualifications of it 1315
- Great* Persons, their Manners and Dispositions, 509. Their Miseries and Inconveniencies, 510. Their Duty to mean Men 1410
- Grief* defined, 250. 'Tis unnatural, 251, 252. Private Grief censured, 253, 254. As unnatural, 254. 'Tis impious and unjust, 255. 'Tis destructive, 256. It deforms

I N D E X.

- deforms a Man both outwardly and inwardly, 257, 258. Grief distinguished with respect to the Degrees of it, 259, 260. Tears and Complaints mitigate it, 260. Remedies against it 1469
- Growing Faculty* considered 83
- H.
- Happiness*, vain Notions of it, 334. Eight Sources of all the Happiness in the World 875
- Hatred*, a very odd Passion, described, 239. Hatred from Subjects the Bane of a Prince's Government, 1101. Who may prevent it by avoiding the two Extremes of Cruelty, 1102. and Avarice, 1104. Remedies against Hatred 1483
- Health* considered 35
- Hearing*, Sense of, preferred before that of Sight, 115. Its Correspondence with Speech 121
- Heat*, inward, the unequal Distribution of it makes a great Difference of Men 447
- Honesty*. See *Integrity*.
- Honour*, Considerations upon it, 571. Considerations upon Temperance in the Desire of Honour 1524
- Hope* described 229
- Human Means*, most Religions received by them 747
- Human Body*. See *Body*.
- Human Life*, a summary Account of it, 306 The true Value of it, *ib.* The Shortness of it, 310. Description of it, 317. The several Stages of it, 318. Contempt of Life, a Vice, as well as over-valuing of it 307
- Husband*, his Power described, 482. His Duty 1319
- Hypocrisy* exposed, 1286. 'Tis at once a difficult and a poor pauntry Trade, 1287. 'Tis in some Degree allowable in Princes and Women 1288, 1289
- Hypostasis*, Soul and Body make but one Hypostasis 67
- I.
- Jealousy*, its Nature and Effects, 242. Its Difference from Envy, *ib.* Remedies against Jealousy 1489
- Ignorance*, the Root of all the Defects of the Mind 175
- Imaginative Faculty* described, 122.
- Hot Temperament, fittest for the Exercise of it, 129. Its bounds in Distinctions, 132. The Parts of Knowledge that fall properly under it, 133. Its Properties, and the Manner of its Operations *ib.*
- Imagination*, the great Power of it, 177. 'Tis the Seat of Opinion 179
- Immateriality* of the Soul considered, 53, &c. Vindicated, 80. Sensation not to be otherwise solved 113
- Immortality* of the Soul examined, 71. Three moral Arguments for it, 73, 74. An Argument for it drawn from the Soul, its being a perpetual, universal and nimble Agent 152
- Impositions*. See *Subsidies*.
- Inconstancy* of Men exposed, 367, 368, 369
- Indifference*, a Branch of the Liberty of the Soul 625
- Industry* and Fortune, which have the greatest Sway in Management 888
- Inequality* of Men. See *Man*.
- Infirmity*, human. See *Weakness*.
- Ingenuity* defined 145
- Injustice* the Effect of Anger, 234.
- Injustice* in a Prince for the publick Good, how far warrantable 1033
- Insensibility* a vicious Extreme 793
- Instinct*, natural, rejected 282.
- Further

I N D E X.

Further Considerations upon it 298, 299
Instruction of Children pursued at large, 1328, &c. See *Learning*.
Insurrections. See *Popular*.
Integrity of the Mind, the fundamental Part of Wisdom, 661. False Appearances of it, 663. What Notions the World have of it, 666. What it is in Truth, 668. The Law of Nature its Model, 672. Natural Integrity, whence it proceeds, 686. Three Degrees of Perfection in Integrity, 691. 'Tis not compleat without the Grace of God, 695.
Intellectual Soul, its native Aptitude and Capacity, 70. Difference between Intellectual and Rational, 52. The Seat and Instrument of the intellectual Soul, 123. How far it is Organical, 125. Its making use of Corporeal Instruments, no Argument of Mortality, 127, 128. A dry Temperament of the Brain most proper for the Perfection of the *Intellectual* Faculty, 128. See *Understanding*. — It acts by many different Operations 145
Intelligence, private, necessary for a Prince 1030
Invention, anxiously pursued by the Soul, 161. The Excellency of it lies in our doing Nature, *ib*.
Irafcible Soul, where it dwells, 30. 'Tis the Seat of five Passions, two for Good, and three for Evil, 196. And these much more outrageous than those of the concupiscible Part, 197. The Difference between the concupiscible and the irascible Part *ib*.
Judgment defined, 146. Why 'tis difficult to form a Judgment of Man, 367. Liberty of Judgment

a necessary Predisposition to Wisdom, 612. Consisting of three Particulars, *viz*. Judging every thing, 616. Being wedded to nothing, 625. Preserving a Largeness of Soul 637
Justice and Fidelity a necessary Virtue in a Prince, 1018, tho' with a greater Latitude than in others, 1021. Three Conditions to warrant this Latitude 1022, 1023
Justice defined, 1215. The Foundation of it within our selves, *ib*. Distinction between Natural and Political Justice, 1216. Between legal and equitable Justice, 1218. Between commutative and distributive Justice, 1219. No such thing as Justice in the World, 1220. Three Objects of Justice, 1223. Justice considered with respect to the first Object, *viz*. a Man's self, 1224. Nine Directions relating to it, *ib*. &c. *viz*. To take up a Resolution not to live without Reflection, *ib*. To learn to be easy when by ourselves, 1227. To choose fit Subjects for the solitary Mind to dwell upon, 1230. To beware above all things of a sluggish, sauntering way of Life, 1231. To learn somewhat from every thing, 1232. To avoid Vanity, and entertain the Mind with serious substantial Studies, 1233. To bring the Will in Subjection to Reason, 1235. To have a just Regard to the Body as well as the Mind, 1236. To adjust discreetly the several Offices relating to the Goods of Life, 1237. — Justice considered as it respects the second Object, *viz*. our Neighbour, 1241, &c. Duties of this kind divided into two

I N D E X.

two Classes, viz. Such as are common and universal, 1242, &c. And such as are special, depending upon particular Reasons, and express Obligations 1318, &c.

K.

Kindness. See *Benefits.*

Knowledge, the Employment of the Soul, 137. By what Method the Soul attains to it, 138. All Knowledge is not owing to the Senses 109, 110, 140, 141, &c.

Knowledge of one's self. See *Self.*

Knowledge of Men and Things 870

Knowledge necessary for a Prince 1010

Knowing how to die 893

L.

Largeness of Soul. See *Soul.*

Lawgivers, what Laws they should prescribe, 524. The Difference between them and Judges 529

Law of Nature, the Model of Integrity, 673, 674. This Law explained, 674, &c. How it came to be perplexed 684, 685

Laws, Obedience to them, in what Sense necessary, 831. Law and Custom compared, 834. Different and odd Laws and Customs, 836. Advice with regard to Laws and Customs, 848. They ought to be complied with, not meerly for the Justice and Equity of them, but out of Reverence to publick Authority, 849. Considerable Alterations in established Laws, of pernicious Consequence 851

Learning, the Abuse of it, 134, 135. Several Considerations upon Learning, 577. The World is the worse for Excess of Learning, 1340. The Difference between Learning and Wisdom, 1341. Learning but a poor Accomplishment in comparison of

Wisdom, 1342. Learning and Wisdom generally found asunder, 1347. Weak and little Souls are spoiled by Learning, 1353. See *Study*, *Philosophy*, *Instruction.*

Learning, two Ways of it, viz. by Precepts, and by Facts or Example, 1356. The latter is the easier and the more entertaining of the two, 1357. The two Ways subdivided into Conversation and Reading 1358

Levity. See *Credulity.*

Levity of Temper inconsistent with Wisdom 716

Liberality a necessary Virtue in a Prince, 1043. Two kinds of it, 1044. How to proportion it, 1046, 1047. 'Tis a proper Attractive of the Affection of the People 1090

Liberty, whether Man has that Advantage over Brutes, 288. Considerations upon Liberty and Servitude 560

Liberty of the Mind a Predisposition to Wisdom, 612. Particularly, Liberty of Judgment, *ib.* and Liberty of the Will, 647. Liberty of Mind explained, with respect to the serving of other People 654

Life, Soul not the principal, but the internal Cause of Life, 52, 53. See *Human.*

Life, three Sorts or Degrees of it, common to the Generality of Men, 540. Why a private Life is less regular than a domestick or publick 541

Lords, several Degrees of Lords impowered under a supreme Head, 462. Of Lords and their Slaves 498

Love compared with, and distinguished from the other Passions, 199. Distinction between virtuous

I N D E X.

- tuous and vicious Love, *ib.* Carnal Love, how vicious, 224. Love defined, 1242. Its Usefulness, 1243. Love distinguished three Ways, *viz.* as to the Causes that create it, 1245. As to the Persons concerned, whether Superiors and Inferiors, collateral, or mixed, 1246, 1247. As to the Intensity and Remissness of it, 1250. The Difference between common or imperfect Love, and that which is perfect and very rare, represented at large, 1250, &c. See *Friendship*.
- Luxury*, a Cause of Anger, 231. *Luxury* exposed 1513
- Lying* exposed, 1284, &c. Hypocrisy a Lying in Actions, 1286. Lying to be particularly guarded against in Children 1369
- M.
- Magistrates*, their Degrees, Power, &c. 522. in their Duty, 1402. A strict harsh Magistrate better than a mild easy one 1410
- Magnanimity* a very becoming Virtue in a Prince 1048
- Man*, considered naturally with respect to the Parts he consists of, 17. *Man* considered naturally and morally, by stating the Comparison between him and Brutes, 268. A summary Account of his Life, 306. A moral Description of his Qualities and Defects, 322. A natural and moral Consideration of *Man* resulting from the Difference between some Men and others, 435. See *Body*.
- Man* hath no mighty Reason to magnify himself in the Advantages of his Nature above that of Brutes, 293. A general Draught of *Man* 322
- Man*, the Difference and Inequality of Men in general, 435. A natural Difference derived from the Climates, 444. A Difference partly natural, partly acquired, with respect to the Strength and Capacity of the Mind, dividing Men into three Classes, 452. An accidental Difference taken from the Circumstance of superior and inferior, 459. A Difference with respect to Mens particular Professions and different Ways of living, 540. A Difference with regard to the Advantages and Disadvantages derived from either Nature or Fortune 558
- Management*, good, Directions concerning it 1324
- Manners* of Men simply considered are not Vices or Virtues, but necessary and natural Effects, 451. Directions for forming the Manners of Children 1369, &c.
- Married* State, the Duties of it, 1319. Enjoyment indulged in a married State, to be used with Moderation and Sobriety 1323
- Marriage* treated of, 468. Objections against it, *ib.* Answers to them, 473. It is a great Good, or great Evil, 476. When good, 'tis exceedingly so, *ib.* A general Description of it, 477. Another more particular one, 478. Wherein consists the Conjugal Superiority and Inferiority, 480. The Power of the Husband, 482. Different Laws about Marriage, 484. Particularly of Polygamy and Divorce. *ib.*
- Masculine* Beauty distinguished from Feminine 38
- Masters*, what Power they have over Servants, 503. Their Duty towards their Servants 1387
- Mean* Men, their Duty to the Great 1414
- Melan-

I N D E X.

- Melancholy*, immoderate, Opini-
on at the Bottom of it 254
- Memory*, defined, 123. A moist
Temperament most accommo-
dated to it, 129. Three Sorts
of Memory, 132. The Sciences
that fall under it, *ib.* Its Proper-
ties, and the Manner of its Ope-
rations, 133. Why 'tis rarely
met with to a great Degree
in Persons that excel in Un-
derstanding, 134, 176. Ex-
cellency in it proper for three
Sorts of People 176
- Men*, the Duty of great and of
mean Men, 1412. See *Man*.
- Military* Life considered 554
- Military* Force necessary for a
Prince 1078
- Mind* of Man defined, 26. Con-
formity between it and the Bo-
dy agreeable to Nature, 43. The
Beauty of the Mind to be curi-
ously considered, 44. It pro-
ceeds in different Methods, in
the Consideration of things,
143. The Advantages and Dis-
advantages of it, 147, 148.
See *Soul*. See *Tranquility*.
- Mind*, the many Miseries of it,
382, *etc.* Liberty of the Mind
a Predisposition to Wisdom, 612.
In respect of the Judgment, *ib.*
and of the Will 647
- Mind*, Directions for forming it
1339
- Misery* proper to Man, 370. In
his Beginning and End, 371.
In the Retrenchment of his
Pleasures, 372. In creating
Misfortunes to himself, 373.
In being born to Pain, 374. In
Remembrance and Anticipati-
on of Evils, 376. In uneasy
Enquiries, 378. In the Rem-
edies of Misery 380
- Miseries* of the Mind, 382. In re-
spect of the Understanding, 383.
In respect of the Will 394
- Misfortunes* in a Prince raise the
Contempt of the People 1109
- Mob*, their Character 537
- Modest* and obliging Behaviour in
Conversation, 858. *Modesty*
particularly recommended in
Children, 1374: *Modesty* in
Apparel 350
- Moral* Consideration of Man
322
- Moral* Duties and religious Rites
very different 730
- Murder*, Self. See *Death*.
- N.
- Nakedness* once the Fashion of all
Mankind, 45. 'Tis no natural
Inconvenience to Man 271
- Name* of God to be reverently
used 773
- Narrowness* of Spirit an ill Quality
in a Counsellor 1059
- Natural* Consideration of Man,
17. Natural Integrity prefe-
rable to the acquired 693
- Nature* the true Spring of Probi-
ty, 669. See *Law* of Nature.
- Nature* sufficient to teach us our
whole Duty, 676. 'Tis the cur-
rent Advice of all wise Men to
follow Nature, 677, 680. Na-
ture and Grace not contrary
Principles, but ought to be
joined, 699, 700, 701. All Re-
ligions are uncouth to Nature,
744. And why, 746. Supersti-
tion is natural 761
- Negligence*, supine, in a Prince,
draws upon him the Contempt
of his People 1108
- Nobility*, a Description of it, 562.
Natural Nobility considered,
565. Of acquired and personal
Nobility, 568. Of both toge-
ther 569
- Nutritive* Faculty considered 84
- O.
- Obedience* of Subjects, to wicked
Princes examined 1396, *etc.*
Obedi-

I N D E X.

Obedience explained and enforced 466

Obligation twofold, viz. Original, arising from the Performance of respective Offices, 1312. And that which arises from Benefits received, 1313. Directions about the latter *ib. &c.*

Obstinacy the Effect of Anger 236
Obstinacy a great Instance of Presumption, described 417

Occasions should be laid hold on in a prudent Management 885

Officers, five Degrees of them for the Exercise of subordinate Power, 463, 464. How a Prince is to choose Officers of Publick Trust, 1063. Officers of an Army. See *Army*.

Opinion described, 179, 180. The World is governed by Opinion, 180. Most of our Opinions resolve into Authority at last, 182. Opinion at the Bottom of immoderate Melancholy, 254. Several foolish Opinions, with which the generality of Mankind is intoxicated, 384. Throwing off popular Opinions the first Disposition to Wisdom 599

Organs of Sense 85

Others, a Forwardness to serve others censured, 648. As well as espousing their Concerns with Zeal *ib.*

P.

Pain seems to be the only real Evil 374

Panick Fears described 267

Parents. See *Paternal*.

Parents their Duty, 1326. The State suffers more from the Neglect of Parents, than from the Disobedience of Children, *ib.* Their Duty consists of four Parts, 1327. Relating to Life or Health, *ib.* Nourishment, 1328. Instruction, *ib.* And the Participa-

tion of the Advantages of Life, 1374. With respect to the last, Parents ought to admit their Children to keep them Company as soon as they are capable

1378

Parts, constituent, of Man, 27.

Parts of the Body, inward, 28.

Outward 31

Passions cause Defects of the Soul,

171, 172

Passions considered in general, 188.

What and whence they are, *ib.*

The vicious Irregularity in them,

190. Their Distinctions accord-

ing to the Object and Subject,

195. Passions in the irascible,

much more mischievous than in

the concupiscible Part, 196. The

Deformity of the Passions ex-

posed in particular, 199. Ex-

emption from Passions, the first

Disposition to Wisdom, 603.

General Remedies against the

Passions, 604. Counter Passion

not the best Remedy 606

Paternal Authority treated of, 490.

The Reasons and Effects of it,

492. Its Decay, 494. The mis-

chievous Consequences of the

Abolition of it 497

Pedants described 402

Peevishness in Children never to be

humoured 1370

People. See *Common*.

Perjury, a greater Affront to God

Almighty than avowed Athe-

ism 1268

Persuading others, an Instance of

Presumption 419

Philosophy, the Study of it, a Cure

for a naturally cross Disposition,

690. Natural and Moral Philo-

sophy recommended beyond

other Studies 1355

Piety, the Study of it, the first Act

of Wisdom, 721. Piety ex-

plained, 767. Consisting in

5 G knowing

I N D E X.

- knowing God, *ib.* Honouring him, 768. Serving him with our Spirit, 769. With our Body, 771. By Prayer, 772. A reverend Use of his Name, 773. Piety and Probity must go together, 775. A Description of Piety without Probity, 776. Probity not to be confounded with Piety 779
- Piety*, a Princely Quality 1017
- Pleasures*, Man capable but of few 372
- Pleasures*, Regulation of Pleasures, a considerable Effect of Wisdom, 787. They ought to be little, 797. Natural, 801. Moderate, 804. In a short Compass, and with regard to one's self 805
- Pleasure* defined, 1497. Directions concerning it, *ib.* Carnal Pleasures considered 1516
- Polity* divided into two Branches, Provision and Action, 1009. The Provisionary Requisites are Knowledge of the State or Government, 1010. Virtue, 1013. Behaviour and Address, 1050. Counsel, 1051. Treasure, 1065. Military Force, 1078. Alliances, 1081. The Action or Administration depends upon such a Conduct as will require good Will and Authority, 1085. Three Methods of obtaining good Will, 1087, 1088. Authority is made up of Fear and Respect, 1090. Three Things necessary to gain and preserve Authority, 1091, &c. The Contraries that ruin a Government are Hatred, 1101. Prevented by avoiding Cruelty, 1102, and Avarice, 1104, and Contempt, 1107. Three Causes of that Contempt, 1108. The peaceable Administration, 1110. The Military Administration 1116
- Politicks*, an Argument of humane Frailty 342
- Poligamy*, Arguments for it, 484. Answers to them, 485. Polygamy differently practised 487
- Poor*, how they came to encrease 502
- Popular Error*. See *Error*.
- Popular Insurrections*, how a Prince should behave among them 1185
- Positiveness*, a great Instance of Presumption 420
- Poverty* considered, 580. Two Sorts of Poverty, 1458, 1459. Considerations upon both, *ib.*
- Power* and Subjection; a Table of the Distinctions of Men in that respect, 460. Supreme Power subdivided, 461. Publick subaltern Power in the Hands of particular Lords, 462. In the Hands of Officers 463, 464
- Power*, Sovereign, what it is, 505. Its Properties, 507. Why coveted, *ib.* The Inconveniencies that attend it, 510, &c. See *Great Men*.
- Prayer*, Directions about it 772
- Precipitation*, an ugly Quality in a Counsellor 1060
- Prejudices*, the Cause of Defects of the Soul, 170. Removal of Prejudices, a Predisposition to Wisdom 598
- Presumption*. See *Pride*.
- Presumption* considered in several respects, 403. In respect of God, 404. In respect of Nature, the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies, 407. In respect of the other Animals, 412. In respect of Man himself, 414. Three Degrees of humane Presumption, *ib.* Of all Passions it requires the most watchful Eye 610
- Prevention*, a good Remedy against Passions 607
- Pride*,

I N D E X.

Pride, the natural Disease of the Soul, 174. The principal and formal Cause of Anger 232

Prince, what Provision he ought to make for the Security of his Person and Government, and how he should administer. See *Polity*. What Virtues are in a particular manner necessary to him, 1017, &c. A Prince ought not to trust the Helm of Government to any other 1096

Princes, Sovereign, their Manners and Dispositions, 509. Their Miseries and Inconveniencies, 510. In the Discharge of their Office, 511. In the Pleasures and Actions of their Life, 512. In their Marriage, 513. In being deprived of the Emulations of Conversation, 515. In their Incapacity to travel, and see the World, 516. In being shut out from all sincere Friendship and mutual Society, *ib*. In being kept in Ignorance, 517. In being less Masters of their own Wills than any other Persons, 519. In an unfortunate End, 520. The Duty of Princes to their People 1391

Principles, natural, the general Alteration and Corruption of them 680, 681, 682, 683

Private Differences considered 1213

Private Life, why less exact than a Domestick or Publick Life, 541. Why it is easier, 544. Private and Publick Capacity to be carefully distinguished, 660. How private Persons should behave in the Divisions of a State 1284

Probity described, 669, 670. Not to be confounded with Piety, 779. It ought to go along with it 786

Professions, Distinctions of Men taken from their Professions 539

Promises considered as to the Matter and Manner 1266, 1267

Property. A Life of distinct Properties compared with a Life in common 550

Prosperity and Adversity, which the harder to govern, 807. General Instructions how to behave in Prosperity, 812. Prosperity described, with Advice upon it 1495

Prudent Management of Business, Directions for it, 870. Requiring Knowledge of Men and Things, *ib*. Just Valuation of them, 872. A wise Choice, 877, 878. Consultation of Friends, 880. Moderation between Fear and Assurance, 883. The laying hold on Occasions, 885. Industry and Fortune, 888. Discretion 890, 891

Prudence, its Excellence, 997. Definition, 998. 'Tis universal, *ib*. Difficult, *ib*. Obscure, 1002. 'Tis more the Effect of Study than any other Virtue, 1004. Prudence distinguished in several respects, 1005. Prudence in Government. See *Polity*. Prudence with respect to the many Accidents of Life, both in a Prince and in private Persons, 1162, &c.

Publick Government. See *Government*.

Publick Life. See *Private*.

Publick spirited Persons must be discreet withal, and in what respects 658

Q.

Qualities and Defects of Humane Nature described 322, &c.

Quotation of Books a vulgar Folly 360

I N D E X.

R.

Rarity whets the Will 185
Rashness the Effect of Anger 236
Ratiocination described 145
Reason, its Dominion over the sensual Part, the Foundation of all Justice 1215
Reason Universal, its Dictates 2
Reason described, 145. Whether Brutes partake of it, 278, &c. and 295, &c. Whether Reason be any real Benefit to Men 304
Rebellion described 1197
Religions various, 722. But all agree in some general Points, 723, 724. And differ in others peculiar to themselves, 741. The latter Religions are built upon the former and the more ancient, 742. All Religions are uncouth to Nature, 744. Reason good they should be so, 746. Why they ought not to be received by Humane Means, 747. But yet so they are, *ib.* The Difference between true and false Religion, 753. An Introduction to the Description of true Religion, 764. Some Descriptions of Religion 766
Religion, the Divine Origin of it vindicated 753, &c.
Reminiscence an Operation of the Imaginative Faculty 134
Repentance, whether all Sin begets Repentance, 704. Repentance described 707
Reproof, Truth and Freedom in it 1271
Reputation, a Vanity of Concern for it 328
Reservedness highly requisite in a Prince 1026, 1027
Retirement. See *Solitude*.
Rewards, how a Prince should behave in the Distribution of them 1115
Revenge, the Nature and Proper-

ties of it, 243. 'Tis a cowardly effeminate Passion, *ib.* Troublesome and restless, 244. Full of Injustice, 245. Dangerous, 246. Its Difference from Cruelty, *ib.* Remedies against Revenge 1486
Riches, Refusal of them, vicious as well as Avarice, 220. Several Considerations upon Riches and Poverty, 580. The true Mean between the immoderate Desire and the Contempt of Riches 1239

S.

Sacrifices, their Nature and Intention, 348, 349. The Foundation of them, 725. A Disquisition whether Sacrifices are of humane Invention 726, &c.
Sciences that fall properly under the Understanding Faculty, 132. Under the Memory, *ib.* Under the Imagination *ib.*
Secrets, keeping them, considered, 1269. The Difficulties that attend it are a mighty Check to inquisitive Tempers 1270, &c.
Sedition described, 1193. And provided against 1194
Self; Knowledge of one's Self directed by universal Reason, 2. It leads to Divine Wisdom, 5, 596. It disposes Men to be wise, 6. The Inconveniencies of the want of it, 9. Four false Means of attaining it, 11. The true ones, 13, 596. Knowledge of one's self necessary in order to fix their Profession, 717. Justice to one's self drawn up in nine Heads, 1224, &c. See *Justice*.
Self-Love, the worst of all Passions 610
Self-Murder, a Disquisition upon it 937, &c.
Sensation, Faculty of it, distinguished from the Soul, 85. Wherein

I N D E X.

- Wherein it consists, *ib.* Sensation an Argument of the Immateriality of the Soul 113
- Senses* are the most exalted and noble Parts of the Body, 90. Of what Consequence they are to us, *ib.* Their Number in Nature uncertain, 91. That of five sufficient for conveying Knowledge to us, 93. A Comparison of the Senses, 94. The Weakness and Uncertainty of them, 95. The mutual Deceits of the Mind and Senses, 96, 97. Senses common to us and Brutes, 97. An Argument drawn from thence, that Brutes partake of Knowledge, *ib.* 'Tis hard to trust our Senses, 98. What Dependance may be had upon their Evidence, 99. Whence the Errors proceed that are charged upon the Deceivableness of the Senses, 108. All our Knowledge does not depend upon our Senses 109, 139, 140, 141, &c.
- Sensitive Soul*, its Sufficiency or Native Aptitude, 68. Six Things requisite for its Exercise 85
- Sensory*, common, described 89
- Sensuality* less vicious than Ambition, 200. 'Tis strong naturally and common, 221. Whence the Shame of it, 222. 'Tis vicious not in it self, but by the Inordinacy betrayed into by it, 224
- Servant*. See *Masters*.
- Servants*, three Sorts of them, *viz.* Slaves, Attendants and Workmen, 1386. Their respective Duties to their Masters 1388
- Servitude*, Considerations upon Liberty and Servitude 560
- Severity*, a better Fence of Government than Easiness, 1091. 'Tis of Use for acquiring and preserving Authority, 1092. How to temper it 1093
- Shame*, no Argument against going naked, 46. Shame of Sensuality, whence 222
- Sickness*. See *Health*.
- Sickness*, Considerations to mitigate the Weight of it, 1444. 'Tis necessary and natural, *ib.* Affects only the Body, 1445. And heightens the consequent Pleasure of Recovery, 1447. Several Examples of Patience under Sickness 1448
- Sight* compared with Hearing and Speech 114
- Sincerity*. See *Integrity*.
- Slaves*, the Use of them universal, but unnatural, 498. Several Sorts of Slavery, 499. The Cause of it, 500. The cruel Usage of Slaves, *ib.* How they came to lessen, 502. And the Poor to encrease, *ib.* And then to return to Servitude 503
- Sobriety* no exalted Virtue, 1511. But it deserves our good Esteem *ib.*
- Soldier*. See *Military Life*.
- Soldiers*. See *Army*.
- Solitude* compared with a Life of Company and Business 544
- Sovereign Power*. See *Power*.
- Sovereign Princes*. See *Princes*.
- Soul* of Man considered in general, 49. Its Definition, 50. Its Nature, 53. Its Faculties and Operations, 56. Its Unity, 57. Its Origin, 62. Its Entrance into the Body, 65. Its Residence and the Manner of it, 66. Its Seat, 67. Its Sufficiency or native Aptitudes, 68. Its Separation, natural, from the Body by Death, 71. Its supernatural Separation by Raptures, 75. Three different Kinds or Degrees of Souls, 74. More particular Considerations of the Soul, 83, &c. See *Intellectual* and

I N D E X.

- and *Mind*. — By what Method the Soul attains to the Knowledge of things, 138. The different Sorts of Souls reduced to three Classes, 148. A particular Description of the Nature and Qualities of the Soul, 150. 'Tis a perpetual Agent, 151. An universal Agent, *ib.* A ready quick Agent, 153. Its Employment, *ib.* Its flexible inconstant Way of working, 157. And the Causes of it, 154. The proposed End of that its anxious Pursuit, *viz.* Truth and Invention, 159, 161. The Necessity of restraining the Soul, 167. It hath its Defects and Diseases as well as the Body, 169. The External Causes of which are the unfavourable Temperament of the Body, prejudicial Opinions and Passions, 170, 171. But its internal natural Disease is Pride and Presumption 174
- Souls*, three Sorts or Degrees of Souls in the World, 452. Largeness of Soul recommended 637
- Speaking*, Temperance in it considered 1529
- Speech* compared with Sight and Hearing, 114. The Power of it, 117. Its Correspondence with Hearing, 121. Speech common to Men and Beasts 273, 274
- Species Sensibilis* described 86
- Sprightly* Soul exposes a Man to great Dangers 163
- Subjects*, their Duty to their Prince consists in Honour and Reverence, Obedience, and a hearty Desire of his Prosperity, 1396. The Case of their Obedience to wicked Persons discuss'd 1396, 1397
- Study*, an unprofitable and superficial Way of it, 1353. Prescriptions for reforming it 1354
- Stupidity*, a sort of Remedy against Passion 605
- Swaddling* Cloaths not naturally necessary 272
- Subsidies* extraordinary levied upon the Subject, upon what Conditions 1070, &c.
- Subject*. See *Affection*.
- Subtlety*, what Sort of it is warrantable and necessary in a Prince 1025
- Superior* and *Inferior*, a Table of the Distinctions of Men upon that Score 460
- Superstitious* Persons described 400
- Superstition* described, 760. It is natural, 761. Common, 762. Cherished by Reason and Policy 763
- Supreme* Power subdivided 461
- T.
- Temper*. See *Easiness*.
- Temper*, Evenness of it in Prosperity and Adversity 806
- Temperament*. See *Brain*.
- Temperance*, the true State of it, 793. The general Idea of Temperance, 1492. Temperance considered in particular with respect to its various Objects 1495, &c.
- Thoughts*, the Vanity of them 326
- Tongue*, good or bad, the important Consequences of it 118
- Town* Life compared with a Country Life 552
- Tranquility* of Mind, the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, 957. What is meant by it, 958. How to attain it *ib.*
- Transmigration* of Souls examined 79
- Transport*. See *Extasy*.
- Treasonable* Practices, those who make a loud Bustle of Loyalty and Fidelity, most liable to them 1185

Treasure,

I N D E X.

Treasure, a necessary Provision for a Prince, 1065. The proper Methods to raise it, *ib.* How to employ it, 1073. Treasure in Reserve, 1075, How to preserve it 1076

Truth the End of the anxious Pursuit of the Soul, but not attainable, 159. The Excellence of Truth in advising and reproving, 1271. Its Usefulness, *ib.* The Rarity and Difficulty of it, 1272. Eight Rules for it 1273

Tutors, and Governors, their Duty, 1334. A Tutor ought to put his Pupil upon Discourse, and giving his own Sentiments, 1360. To train him up to a becoming Curiosity of knowing, 1364. To frame his Mind after the Model of universal Nature, 1366. And to teach him not to receive Opinions upon Trust 1367

Tyranny exposed 1097

Tyranny defined, 1197. The Remedies against it are, keeping the absolute Power out of King's Hands at first, and Submission when they have got it, 1198. The Case of Obedience to Tyrants stated and discuss'd 1396, &c.

V.

Valour, a necessary Virtue in a Prince 1039

Vanity, the most essential Quality of humane Nature, 325. Vanity of Thoughts, 326. Vain Concern for Futurity, 327. Vain Concern for the Opinion of the World, 328. Vanity the frequent Cause of Commotions of the Mind, 329. Vanity in Visits and Matters of Civility, 331. Vanity the Cause of publick Commotions, 333. Vain Notions of Happiness and Content 334, 335

Vegetative Soul, its Sufficiency or native Aptitude, 68. Its subaltern Faculties, *viz.* Nutritive, Growing, Generative 84

Virtue, whether common to Men and Brutes, 289. The Variety of Virtues owing not to Nature, but Fortune and Providence, 366. Stanch Virtue the best Remedy against the Passions, 609. False Appearances of Virtue, 663. Whether acquired Virtue or natural Goodness is preferable, 693. Virtue the most effectual Qualification for bearing Adversity, 821. Virtues peculiarly proper for a Prince 1013

Vicious Disposition, natural, how to be cured 690

Visits, the Vanity and Impertinencies of them 331

Understanding, its three principal Offices, 132. The Sciences that fall properly under it, *ib.* Its Properties and the Manner of its Operations, 133. 'Tis the Employment of the Soul, 137, 138. Its universal Extent, *ib.* It gives many Instances of the Weakness and Misery of Man 383

Unity of the Soul vindicated 57

Vulgar Error. See *Error*.

W.

War, when to be engaged in, 1116, 1118. What a just War is, 1118. Two Conditions of offensive War, 1119. How War is to be carried on, 1124. And upon what Conditions an End put to it, 1157. See *Army, General*.—Civil Wars considered 1199

Weakness of Judgment a Cause of Anger 231

Weakness of Man in desiring and choosing, 336. In using and enjoying, 337. Weakness with regard

I N D E X.

- gard to Good and Evil, 339. In the Practice of Virtue and Vice, *ib.* In Politicks, 342. In Justice, 343. In relation to Truth, 345. His Weakness discovered by Religion, 347. Particularly by the Use of Sacrifices, 348. By the Sacraments, Repentance enjoined, *&c.* 352, 353. His Weakness in Evil as well as Good, 355. In Reproofs and Denials, 357. In false Suspitions and Accusations, *ib.* In Niceness and Affectation, 359. In consulting Books, 360. In not bearing Extremes, *ib.* Nor sudden Accidents 361
Weapons, natural, common to Man and Beast 272
Weeping not peculiar to Man 272
Wickedness considered, 701. Three Sorts of wicked Men compared 706, 707
Wife, how far she is subject to her Husband, 467. Her Duty 1321, *&c.*
Will, its Pre-eminence above the other Faculties, 182. Its different Way of Operation from that of the Understanding, 184. Three things that stimulate the Will, 185. The Will hath many Sources of Misery, 394. The Liberty of the Will must be preserved, 647. Of the Determination of the Will in different Cases 879
Will, Good-Will of Subjects, a necessary Pillar of Government, 1085. 'Tis acquired principally by Gentleness, 1087. Beneficence, 1089, and Liberality 1090
Wisdom, Men disposed to it by the Knowledge of themselves, 6. By Exemption from vulgar Error and Passions, 595. By an entire Liberty of the Mind, 612. Integrity, the first Point of Wisdom, 661. Fixing a particular End, the second, 714. Study of Piety the first Act of Wisdom, 721. Regulation of Pleasures a considerable Effect of it, 787. The first Fruit of Wisdom is living in a constant Readiness for Death, 891. Maintaining an uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit, the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, 957. The wide Difference between Wisdom and Learning, 1341. They are seldom found together 1347
Worship, Acts of, a Proof of human Impotence 348
 Y.
Youth compared with old Age, 318.
 The Vices peculiar to it 319
 Z.
Zeal in espousing the Concerns of others censured, 652. It infects the Mind, and corrupts the Judgment 653

F I N I S.



